

*Waqi'at*  
*-e-*  
*Mushtaqi*

OF  
SHAIKH RIZQ ULLAH MUSHTAQUI

Translated & Edited by  
**Iqtidar Hussain Siddiqui**



**Collection of Prof. Muhammad Iqbal Mujaddidi  
Preserved in Punjab University Library.**

پروفیسر محمد اقبال مجددی کا مجموعہ  
پنجاب یونیورسٹی لائبریری میں محفوظ شدہ









**Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi**  
**OF**  
**SHAIKH RIZQ ULLAH MUSHTAQUI**  
(A Source of Information on the Life and)  
Conditions in Pre-Mughal India

*Translated and Edited by*  
**Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui**



*Co-Published by*  
**INDIAN COUNCIL OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH**  
**NEW DELHI**  
and



**NORTHERN BOOK CENTRE**  
**NEW DELHI**



133235

ISBN 81-7211-046-4

© 1993, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi

Price : Rs 300.00

Co-published by Indian Council of Historical Research, 35, Ferozshah Road, New Delhi and Northern Book Centre, 4221/1, Ansari Road, New Delhi 110002

Printed at Swatantra Bharat Press, 423, Gali Jainyan, Esplanade Road, Delhi 110006.



*Dedicated to  
the Memory of my Teacher  
Professor Mohammad Habib*





## PREFACE

It is a formidable task to translate an old text in an oriental language such as Persian into English, a modern European language. It takes sustained endeavour to cross the great linguistic distance between these two very different languages which have grown in two very different cultures.

What I have tried to do is to present a literal translation, as far as practicable, of this well-known work. Much effort has gone into finding appropriate words in English for the technical terms in the original Persian; I have reproduced Persian terms in their transliteral forms and tried to supply as close an English translation of them as possible. I may mention that the spelling 'Mushtaqui' used to represent part of the title of the work is a concession to the popular way of rendering *qāf* in English.

The Indian Council of Historical Research invited me in 1973 to translate the *Waqia't-e-Mushtaqui*. It took me about two years to complete the translation. ICHR, however, took quite long to publish it. I am glad, nevertheless, that it is about to be published, partly thanks to its retrieval by Dr. Tasneem Ahmad.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Pratap Vaish, the enterprising Director of Northern Book Centre, for the interest he took in publishing this work.

(I. H. SIDDIQVI)  
Department of History  
Aligarh Muslim University  
ALIGARH

15.11.1992





# CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
<i>Preface</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Introduction</i>	<i>xi</i>
CHAPTER I	1
CHAPTER II	16
CHAPTER III	108
CHAPTER IV	114
CHAPTER V	121
CHAPTER VI	127
CHAPTER VII	129
CHAPTER VIII	159
CHAPTER IX	169
CHAPTER X	200
CHAPTER XI	206
CHAPTER XII	212
CHAPTER XIII	224
CHAPTER XIV	231



	<i>Page</i>
CHAPTER XV	
Account of Sultān Maḥmud Khaljī	235
CHAPTER XVI	
Anecdotes relating to the history of Sultān Muzaffar, the King of Gujarat, Sultān Maḥmud Bah- manid and Sultān Ibrahīm Sharqī	239
CHAPTER XVII	
Miscellaneous anecdotes, contain- ing information about the state system and social life in India during the Fifteenth Century	248
<i>Index</i>	285



## INTRODUCTION

Of the histories, relating to the pre-Mughal ruling dynasties in north India, the *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Shahi* of Maulana Mahmud Katwani and *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* of Shaikh Rizqullah Mushtaqi are cited by the early Mughal historians as the only sources of information used by them in the preparation of their account of the Afghan Kings, Lodis and the Surs.<sup>1</sup> The *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Shahi*, dedicated by its compiler to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, was an official history whereas the *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* was written by an amateur historian, interested in perpetuating the memories of all those who had been great and had left their mark in different fields. The *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Shahi* is not extant; much of its material on political events of the Lodi period and their chronology appear to have been incorporated by Nizam U'ddin Ahmad in the first volume of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* because the *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* is wanting in these details. The compiler of the *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* seems to have been interested in taking note of things which had cultural or humanitarian value in his eyes. Hence the value of his work for the student of history and culture during the pre-Mughal period.

1. Nizam U'ddin Ahmad Bakhshi refers to the *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Shahi* of Maulana Mahmud Katwani and *Tarikh-Bahadur Shahi* as his sources of information for the Lodi period. Besides, Nizam U'ddin Ahmad also cites the *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* as the other source not only for the Lodis but also for Sher Shah Sur and his successors. Since the *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* hardly furnishes details about the military conquests made and battles fought, the compilers of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani* seem to have drawn on the *Tarikh-i Ibrahim Shahi* for their account of the conquests and battles. As the official history contains the dates of different events, only *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Shahi* was helpful for the Mughal historians in this respect. The *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* does not provide dates.

It may also be pointed out that before the compilation of the *Tarikh-i Ibrahim Shahi*, the compilers of general histories in Gujarat,

(Contd. on next page)



## xii Introduction

It is worth noting that besides containing detailed information on life and culture in north India under the Afghan kings, the *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* also describes the achievements of the provincial Sultans of Malwa, Gujarat and Jaunpur in cultural and political fields. With the rulers, the contemporary sufi saints and wading *dervishes* also find mention in the work.

Since Mushtaqi's selection of material and approach to the great men of history seem to have been influenced by his religious views and persuasion, it is desirable to discuss his life and association with the social elite. First, we will briefly discuss his social milieu, education and professional career and then analyse the importance of his contribution to historical literature.

Mushtaqi belonged to an old and respectable family of Delhi, the members of which had been known for their piety, scholarship and military achievements for a long time. Āgha Muḥammad Tūrḳ, his ancestor, came to India with his tribal following during the reign of Sultan 'Ala-ud'din Khalji. The Sultan received him with great favour. Soon afterwards he was deputed with Ulūgh Khan and Nūsrāt Khan for the conquest of Gujarat in 1299. He stayed there for a short time and then returned to Delhi due to his quarrel with certain nobles. On his return, the Sultan treated him with

(Contd. from previous page)

such as Maulana Faizullah Binbani, close their account of the Delhi Sultans, drawing upon the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* of Yahya Sirbindi with the account of Khizr Khan and his descendants, for it does not go beyond the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah of Delhi (d. 1442 A.D.).

Cf. Faizullah Binbani, *Tarikh-i Sadr-i Jahan*, ed. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, Aligarh, 1988.

It contains no information about the Lodi Sultans, for it was produced before the compilation of *Tarikh-i Ibrahim Shahi*. Unlike Faizullah Binbani, the compiler of *Tarikh-i Bahadur Shahi* had access to *Tarikh-i Ibrahim Shahi*; therefore, his work is said to have included a chapter on the Lodi Sultans also. Like him, Nizam U'ddin and Nimatullah Harevi also had access to the official history of the Lodi period. *Tabqat-i Akbari*, Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 4; Ni'matullah Harevi, *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani*, ed. Imam U'ddin, Dakha, 1960, 1/5.



greater kindness than he had done previously. Āshā Muḥammad continued to hold a high rank even after the overthrow of the Khalji dynasty. He had one hundred and one sons, but all of them except Malik Mu'iz u'd-din died in his lifetime. Consequently, he became so disgusted with the world that he left the military profession and settled in retirement in the *Khanqah* of Shaikh Salah-al-Din Suhrawardi, in Delhi. He died in 1338 A.H.<sup>2</sup>

Malik Musa, the son of Malik Mu'iz-u'd-din, was a high noble under Sultan Firuz Shah. After the latter's death, he left for Toransoxiana, for the political conditions at the royal court as well as in the provinces had become intolerable for him. In Transoxiana also he could not settle permanently and came back to Delhi with Timur in 1398. His son, Malik Firuz, enjoyed a high status during the reign of Bahlul Lodi. He is reported to have written a poem about the battle of Delhi fought between Bahlul and Sultan Husain Sharqi in 1469. A few years later he was killed in a battle in Babraich,<sup>3</sup> where his grave has become a place of pilgrimage for the local people. He was survived by his posthumous son, Shaikh Sa'dullah, the father of Rizqallah Mushtaqi.<sup>4</sup>

As an intensely religious man by temperament, Shaikh Sa'dullah preferred a life of chastity and poverty to the life of comfort of the ruling class. His religious preceptor, Shaikh Muḥammad Magan, was a famous Chishti saint who flourished during the 15th and 16th centuries. He influenced Shaikh Sā'dullāh so much that the latter also devoted his life to the cause of religion and piety, and earned his livelihood by performing the job of *Imam* (prayer leader) under *Masnād-i-āli* Zain al-Din Khan, Sultan Sikandar's *Muqta* of the *Sarkar* of Badaon.<sup>5</sup> Shaikh Sā'dullah's descendants maintained his traditions and some of them emerged as the leading saints of medieval India.

2. *Akhbar al-Akhiyar*, Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis, Muhammadi Press, 1283, A.H. p. 284.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 285. Also *Zubdt-u't-Tawarikh*, Rotograph of the Ms. (British Library, London), f. 68a.
4. *Akhbar-al-Akhiyar*, p. 284.
5. *Akhbar-al Akhiyar*, p. 285 : also *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi*, f. 30b.



The Afghan period during which Shaikh Rizq ullah Mushtaqi lived is one of the most important epochs in medieval Indian history ; in this period several social developments of great importance took place. The gulf between the conquered and the conquerors of Hindustan was bridged and the process of the integration of Hindu and Muslim cultures was not only accelerated but almost completed in certain areas of North India. The Muslims began to exhibit keen interest in the sciences of the Hindus,<sup>6</sup> while the Hindus learnt Persian and manned the state department of finance.<sup>7</sup> Certain religious movements also developed which to some extent shaped the cultural pattern of the age and conditioned people's attitude towards life and humanity. Kabir and Nanak flourished in this period ; they stood for the unity of the two great religions, Islam and Hinduism. Unlike them, the leaders of the Mahdavi movement aimed at purifying the Indian Muslim society by freeing it from innovations and customs and practices which had crept into it under the stresses of Indian culture, while some of the Shattari saints were very close to the leaders of the Bhakti movement in their views and practices.

In fact, some of the distinguished Shattari saints were deeply influenced by the Hindu mystical practices which they tried to adapt to Muslim concepts. Saiyid Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliori (a leading Shattari saint) "popularized Hindu mystical practices amongst the Shattari saints through

6. *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi*, ff. 69ab.

7. *Firishta*, (Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow) I/187. *Maktubat-i Quddusi*, Shaikh Abdul Quddus, p. 337 : Badaoni, i/323.

Kabir and Nanak, the great religious leaders, flourished during the Lodi period ; the former lived in the region of modern eastern U.P., while the latter belonged to the Punjab. Both of them tried to unite Hindus and Muslims through an appeal to what they considered the central truths of both Hinduism and Islam.

Cf. *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, Dr Tara Chand. Allahabad, 1963, pp. 148-52, 166-77.



his translation of *Amritkund* and established identity of connection between Muslim and Hindu mystical terminology".<sup>8</sup>

Mushtaqi was born in 1495-96 and died in 1581-82. His father made necessary arrangements for his education and also had him initiated into the discipleship of Shaikh Muhammad Magan at an early age. Later, Mushtaqi sat at the feet of Shaikh Buddhan who belonged to the Shattari *silsilah* (Sufi order), and learnt spiritual exercises from him.<sup>9</sup> Since Shaikh Buddhan emphasised the need for intense love of Allah (*Ishq-i-Ilahi*) for rapid spiritual development, Mushtaqi soon became a devout Sufi. He assumed the three-fold obligation of poverty, chastity and resignation to the will of Allah and spent his nights in constant vigils.<sup>10</sup> He travelled to distant places and paid visits to the celebrated saints and famous shrines. As regards his choice of profession, he took to the profession of *Imam* like his father. His patrons were the nobles of Sultan Sikandar and Ibrahim Lodi.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, Mushtaqi, like the Shattari saints, composed poems of love in Persian and Hindwi, the latter by this time had become a powerful vehicle for the expression of love and humanism. He used his pen-name 'Rajan' in Hindwi poems and Mushtaqi in Persian poems. Unfortunately his collections of poems are not extant.

It may be pointed out that Mushtaqi was orthodox in religion but free from religious fanaticism. Much influenced by the ideas of Kabir and the Shattari saints, he had developed regard and tolerance towards other religions. At places he praises the efforts made by Sultan Sikandar Lodi and his nobles for banning the un-Islamic practices among the Muslims, but he also admires Maulana Abdullah who incurred royal displeasure by criticising the Sultan for his hostile attitude towards the Hindu places of worship.

8. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, Resurgence of the Chishti Silsillah in the Sultanate of Delhi during the Lodi Period, *Islam in India*, ed. C.W. Troff, Vol. 2, New Delhi, 1983.

9. *Akhbar al-Akhiyar*, p. 286.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 285-86.

11. *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi*, ff. 37b, 37a.



Sultan Sikandar wanted to destroy the tank of Kurukshetra where Hindus, both male and female, gathered on religious occasions for bathing. Maulana Abdullah prevented the Sultan from this act by denouncing it as un-Islamic.<sup>12</sup> That is why we find that Mushtaqi's account is nowhere coloured by religious fanaticism, and this fact certainly enhances the value of his work.

As Mushtaqi was brought up during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517), he wrote from personal experience or on the basis of information he had gathered from his father and other reliable persons whom he mentions at certain places.<sup>13</sup> He was keenly interested in the life and work of sufis and he mentions them along with the kings and nobles. Shaikh Nurul Haque, the grandson of his younger brother, says about his piety and interest in history: "Shaikh Rizqullah was a saintly man. He had great love for God and had no equal in his knowledge of saints and kings."<sup>14</sup>

Writing about the same time, Muhammad Sadiq says that the people of Delhi regarded Mushtaqi and his brother as the representatives of the Delhi culture as in their lives Dehlayism (culture) was best represented. He also refers to the *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* as one of the popular works in his days.<sup>15</sup>

His work *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* was brought to completion in 1572 during the reign of Akbar,<sup>16</sup> but he never fails to give the Sur kings due credit for their attainments. He rather writes nostalgically because conditions had deteriorated during the early decades of Akbar's reign. Describing the generosity of Afghan nobles, he repeatedly points out the greater purchasing value the rupee had during the Afghan period. It seems that he still entertained the hope that India would again be liberated from the alien rule and the Afghans would

12. *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi*, f. 9b.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Zud'dat al-Tawarikh*, Nurul Haq, Rotograph of the MS in the India Office Library, London, No. 1805, f. 74a.

15. Muhammad Sadiq Hamdani, *Kalimat-ul-Sadiqin*, Ms. History Department Library, Aligarh, No. 267, ff. 99b-100a.

16. *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi*, f. 74b.



again rise in the East to regain their lost power. Though the author was an old man of seventy-seven years at the time of the compilation of his work, he retained the vigour of his mind and memory. His work helps us in analysing the historical forces operating in medieval India during the 15th and 16th centuries. As for the shortcomings in Mushtaqi's work, he does not appear to have had a taste for investigation and research. The author never employs the techniques of methodical doubt and questioning of evidence to ascertain facts. Sometimes he bases his account on hearsay and relies even on the man in the street in this regard.

Secondly, his treatment has no unity of theme and chronology. One may seldom find the date of any event in the *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi*. The work contains long digressions. The account of the kings is interspersed with stories and anecdotes regarding miracles, enchantments, platonic love and licentiousness of people. They were put down in the text whenever they came to the mind of the author. Consequently, the sequence of events is interrupted and the work is deformed and its reading becomes difficult and uninteresting. It is really a painstaking task to go through the work and determine its real merits.

No doubt supernatural veneer surrounds many stories and fables interspersed in the account of the political events, but they were included to adorn it. They also give us a clue to the understanding of the standard of the fictional stories produced in medieval India. People passed their time in hearing and reading these stories. The Afghan period was characterized by great literary activity ; many writers produced works of fiction and legends, such as *Padmavat* and *Madumalti*. Their authors began their work with the praise and the description of certain main characteristics of the reigns of their reigning monarchs and dedicated them either to the reigning king or some grandee of the empire. Unlike them, Mushtaqi decided to write a book on the history of the Afghan kings of his own accord and mixed at places fanciful stories with his historical narration only to enhance the value of his work for a medieval reader. But his main



defect is that he presents some of these stories as facts of history. For instance, he narrates that a Muslim magician visited the court of the Ra'i of Jodhpur and showed magical feats. On being permitted, the magician created an orchard of delicious pomegranates. The Ra'i was highly pleased, but he also thought that the orchard would survive as long as the magician would remain pleased with him. Therefore, he at once killed the magician. In this way the garden was saved.<sup>17</sup>

But for these stories and anecdotes we would not have been able to collect much valuable information about the Indian society during the Afghan period. Many of the stories contained in the *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* reveal to us the medieval Indian life in its full colour. Not only the commoners had faith in ghosts, spirits, genii, and witches, but the intelligentsia was also of a credulous bent of mind. Platonic love was popular among certain sections of mystics and recluses. They fell in love with beautiful boys and girls at first sight and took to ecstasy.<sup>18</sup> Platonic love was considered a means to the real path of love and gnosis. It is indicative of the fact that after the disintegration of the Chishti and Suhrawardi *silsilahs*, the mystic life had degenerated to a great extent. There are also stories which shed valuable light on socio-economic conditions obtaining in northern India during the period under review.

The Brahmins were held in high esteem even by Sultan Sikandar Lodi for their uprightness.<sup>19</sup> Strict *purdah* was observed by the ladies of the aristocratic Muslim families.<sup>20</sup> The Hindu brokers and bankers (money-lenders) appear to

17. *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi*, f. 93a-b, 'Abdullah and Yadgar copy this story verbatim at many places, but they add that the *Rana* of Jodhpur sent pomegranates to Sultan Sikandar who said to his nobles that they were more delicious than those of Khurasan. *Tarikh-i Daudi*, Abdullah (Aligarh Text) pp. 76-77. *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Ahmed Yadgar, Bib. Ind., pp. 50-51.

18. *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi*, f. 13a-b.

19. *Ibid.*, f. 17a.

20. *Ibid.*, f. 8a-b.



have carried on a brisk trade in almost all the important cities and towns.<sup>21</sup> Like the Muslims, the upper caste Hindus were also polygamous.<sup>22</sup> They also reveal the position of the common man, peasant and artisan, in relation to the social and political institutions. However, the picture which emerges on going through some of the stories is that of peace and prosperity prevailing everywhere; the shepherds and petty gardeners seem to have led a life of contentment.<sup>23</sup>

The history of the Lodi Sultans begins with a brief account of Bahlul's childhood, his career and rise to prominence in the Panjab. Here Mushtaqi seems to have accepted uncritically the popular traditions about the early life of the founder of the first Afghan dynasty in Delhi. Details furnished by him would have us believe that Bahlul was in the beginning a horse merchant and obtained the throne of Delhi through the blessing of an ecstatic *dervish*.<sup>24</sup> Brought up with faith in the sanctity of the dervishes, our author could not question the authenticity of this legend. Mushtaqi's junior contemporary, Nizamu'ddin Ahmad seems to have been provoked to reject this part of his account as devoid of factual basis. He states that it was wrong to say that Bahlul and his uncle, Islam Khan Lodi, ever dealt in the trade of horses.<sup>25</sup> *Firishta* is conclusive on this point. He says that Bahlul's ancestor, Bahram, came to Multan along with the Afghan traders and entered the service of Malik Marwan (governor of Multan) during the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah (1351-1388 A.D.).<sup>26</sup> As for the details of Bahlul's occupation of Delhi in 1451 and the following events they are

21. *Ibid.*, ff. 25b-26a.

22. *Ibid.*, f. 89b.

23. *Ibid.*, ff. 21a, 96b.

24. Such Traditions are related about the early Sultans who had risen from below. Shams Siraj Afif narrates stories that Ghazi Malik (later Sultan Ghiyas Uddin Tughluq Shah) paid visits to the Sufi saints and one of them had foretold his rise to Kingship. Cf. Afif, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, Calcutta, 1891, pp. 27-28.

25. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 297.

26. *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Lucknow, i/173.



based on what he had heard from the senior people who had lived in Bahlul's time. His description of the arrest of Hamid Khan, the Wazir by the Afghans, through treachery seems to have supplemented the account contained in the official history, for the latter could not mention this disparaging episode. Furthermore, these details provide insight into the the aristocratic culture of Delhi.<sup>27</sup>

Similarly, Mushtaqi's account of Bahlul's political behaviour and the policy followed by him towards the religious and political elite is interesting. No doubt, it is also based on the report he might have got from his elders but it is supported by circumstantial evidence, available both in the *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* and *Tabaqat-i Akbari*. The portrait that he paints of Sultan Bahlul is that of a God-fearing king, keenly interested in the well-being of people under his rule. It also needs to be pointed out that, out of love and regard for the memory of the Sultan, Mushtaqi omits every item of evidence, pointing to the craftiness in him. According to him, Sultan Bahlul's approach to the governmental system was determined by his religiosity and generous nature. That he treated the *ulama* and *mashaikh* (religious elite) with respect and open handedness. The Sultan would not get angry with them even if they misbehaved with him. Likewise, the soldiers and nobles were shown due consideration. Simple and modest by temperament, the Sultan treated the soldiers kindly and kept the high officers (grandees) pleased with him at every cost. He paid visits to them if he came to know of their illness. "He did not sit on the throne in the (social) assembly and forbade the nobles to stand. All used to sit together on the fine carpets and the Sultan called every one '*Masnad-i 'Ali* (exalted lordship). He held *darbar* daily and sat on the carpet. Some of them (nobles) were ordered (to remain) standing. All nobles did not sit in the assembly. He tried his level best to please the nobles. If any one got annoyed with the Sultan, he went to his house, unsheathed his sword and

27. *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi*, ff. 5ab-6a.



placed it before him, nay, he untied his turban and stood for apology."<sup>28</sup>

Fortunately we also find interesting details about the destruction of Tatar Khan Yusuf Khail, who held the charge of all the western territories beyond the River Sutlej with a high rank of 15,000 *sawars*. Tatar Khan Yusuf Khail was a trusted noble of Bahlul, but he began to assume airs of independence at a time when the Sultan was pre-occupied with fighting the last battle against the Sharqi Sultan. In spite of his pre-occupation, he ordered Prince Nizam Khan, then the Muqta of Dar al-Mulk Delhi, to march against the rebel. The account of the battle, which took place between the armies of the Prince and Tatar Khan Yusuf Khail near Ambala, contains important details. The Farmulis, who were related to Khwaja Sa'id Farmuli (Nizam Khan's tutor), and the Afghans, such as 'Umar Khan Sarwadi and his sons, the sons of Masnad-i 'Ali Mubrak Khan Nuhani, Darya Khan and Nasir Khan and some others, had been staunch supporters of Nizam Khan since the time of Sultan Bahlul. They rose to prominence after Nizam Khan's succession to the throne with the title of Sūltān Sikandar Shah in 1489.<sup>29</sup> The destruction of Tatar Khan Yusuf Khail is indicative of the

28. *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi*, f. 6a.

It may be pointed out that this treatment was confined to the higher nobles alone and during the years of a conflict with the Sharqi Sultans. Bahlul feigned humility before his powerful nobles because he was anxious to keep them tied to the state chariot on the one hand and have their warlike spirit intact on the other. There was no other way out left for him in the given conditions. As soon as the crisis was over after the expulsion of Sultan Husain Sharqi from Jaunpur, he asserted his authority in every matter, as will be discussed subsequently. Moreover, it is also worth noting that most of his high nobles were his cousins and close relations. It also deserves to be pointed out that the part relating to Bahlul's behaviour towards the nobles has been taken out by Abdullah out of context. The modern writers, depending on Elliot's translation of his passage have been misled to characterise kingship under him as tribal in character.

29. *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi*, f. 9b-10a.

'Abdullah, the author of the *Tarikh-i Da'udi*, has copied the details of the battle verbatim at many places. *Tarikh-i Da'udi*, pp. 30-34.



fact that Sultan Bahlul was never prepared to allow any Afghan noble, howsoever great and important he might be, to share sovereign power with him.<sup>30</sup> In fact, as a result of his tactfulness and foresight, Bahlul was able to build up his power and pave the way for his Sultanate to become a tightly centralized entity under his son, Sultan Sikandar Lodi.

Mushtaqi's account of the reign of Sultan Sikandar is more detailed than that of his father. He gives an eye-witness account of many events which occurred during his reign. Moreover, he was acquainted with many great nobles from whom he got information about the character and social and administrative reforms of Sultan Sikandar. The Sultan banned the visit of women to the shrines and tombs of the celebrated saints. Likewise the procession of the flag of Salar Ghazi was banned in the sultanate. He took this action because both the traditions brought men and women together and 'vile' characters could indulge in immoral practices. His *farmans* were received by the nobles with great respect and deference.

The Sultan and his nobles were seriously interested in the progress of agriculture. They encouraged the peasants to bring virgin land under cultivation and they gave them loans whenever they stood in need of financial help. The Sultan did not transfer *'amils* (revenue collectors) from the *parganahs*. His attitude towards the nobles was also liberal. If the *iqta's* assigned to them yielded a larger amount than was recorded in the papers of the *diwan* the assignees were allowed by the Sultan to keep it with them. Charity houses were opened from where needy people got financial help. Scholars and poets were patronised and educational institutions were granted financial aid throughout the sultanate. The Sultan exhibited great interest in music and appointed Miran Saiyid Ruhullah and Saiyid Ibn Rasul, nobles well-versed in the art of music, to interview new musicians for the royal service.

Sometimes Mushtaqi has been accused by the later medieval writers of having exaggerated the achievements of Sultan Sikandar. But the fact remains that the Sultan was

30. *Ibid.*, f. 9b-10a.



a liberal patron of art and learning. He befriended the *ulama* (scholars) and pious men, admitted them in his company and treated them with benevolence. Moreover, his reign was marked by general prosperity and affluence.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, when Mushtaqi comes to close his account of his reign, he bursts out in praise and concludes the account with the following verses of Amir Khusrau to show the happy conditions prevailing there :

What a wonderful age this is ;

People are prosperous ; there is festival and merrymaking in every house.

No one nurses feelings of hatred against another person, Nor does anyone entertain the thought of mischief even in his dream,

The Muslims are dominant ; the Hindus obedient ;

The very name of the Mughals is not heard of.

The king, as possessing divine knowledge, is highly eminent,

Like a mountain which has the grandeur of the rock externally and the beauty of diamond internally.

He is a king like Zulqarnain (Alexandar the Great).

Therefore the title of (Sultan) Sikandar has been appropriately given to him.

In short, Mushtaqi's description, at least of the reign and achievements of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, is quite comprehensive. He never attributes supernatural powers to the Sultan like the later chroniclers. He mentions only those facts which he himself witnessed or heard from his old relations and friends. According to him, the Sultan was a thoughtful ruler, keenly interested in the administrative affair of the Empire and the well-being of his nobles and officers through spies.

As regards the portion dealing with the life and achievements of the nobles of the Lodi period, the book contains valuable material, and throws light on certain aspects of the

31. cf. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, *Islamic Learning and Intellectual thought in the Sultanate of Delhi during the Lodi period*, *Hamdard Islamicus*, Karachi, vol. X, No. 3, Autumn, 1987, pp. 60-80.



life of the aristocracy. Mushtaqi is almost fulsome in his adulation of those grandees whom he judged by his own standard as men of noble character. His account of the nobles furnishes the information that they vied with one another in extending their generosity and patronage to art and learning. They employed poets, scholars and musicians and gave liberal financial help to the poor. The spring festival (*Jashn-i Bahar*) was celebrated with all pomp and grandeur at their courts. Grand feasts were held on this occasion and the friends and relatives were invited. The musicians and dancers were called to entertain them.

We also find details about the bravery, large-heartedness, piety, humanism and achievements in the battle-field of Masnad-i 'ali Khawas Khan, Mian Bhua, Masnad-i 'ali Mian Muhammad Kalapahar Farmuli, Khwaja Sa'id Farmuli, Khan-i Jahan Lodi, Sa'id Khan Yusuf Khail, Mian Husain Farmuli, Masnad-i 'ali Gada'i Farmuli and his son, Maruf Farmuli, A'zam Humayun Sarwani, Khan-i a'zam Jamal Khan and his son and grandson, Ahmad Khan Lodi and Lad Khan, Daulat Khan Lodi and others.

But our author has given no description of the attainments of the worldly-minded nobles who had no reverence for the saints. He dismisses them in a few sentences : "Many nobles", says he, "spent lavishly on worldly pleasures. Khan-i Khan Nuhani and Dilawar Khan (son of Mian Bhu'a) were very fond of collecting beautiful women. The latter spent five hundred tankahs on flowers for his harem."<sup>32</sup> Both the nobles held high positions in the administration. Khan-i Khanan Nuhani, the *Muqta* of Rapri,<sup>33</sup> commanded the confidence of both Sultan Sikandar Lodi and Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Dilawar Khan was the son of the famous wazir, Mian Bhu'a and was entrusted with the wizarat by Sultan Ibrahim

32. *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi*, f. 34b.

33. Now Rapri is a village in the Tehsil of Shikohabad in Mainpuri, a district in the U.P. It is situated on the left bank of the Jamuna, 33 miles south of Mainpuri city. During the times of the Sultan of Delhi it was an important town. cf. *Imperial Gazetteer*, Hunter, Part 8, p. 32.



Lodi after the imprisonment of his father. In fact, no noble, howsoever great, gets mention in the *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* if he did not possess the qualities considered by our author as noble and good. Mushtaqi had love and regard even for the drunkards and debauched persons, provided they had done good work for religion or humanity. For example, he devotes much space to a description of the noble qualities of Sa'id Khan Yusuf Khail and Khan-i A'zam Lad Khan Sarang Khani. The former was a hard drunkard and the latter maintained a large *harem* of beautiful girls, but at the same time their generosity knew no bounds.

The account of the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi is comparatively brief. The author is critical of the Sultan and blames him for maltreating the high nobles of Sultan Sikandar's time. This is not all. He justifies the rebellions of the nobles against their master, the reason being that many of the nobles whom the Sultan had destroyed, were his patrons. For example, his account of Masnad-i 'Ali Mian Husain Farmuli's desertion along with a number of other important nobles to Rana Sanga at a very critical time, though containing important details about the anarchic conditions prevailing in the Afghan army, reveals Mushtaqi's prejudice against the Sultan. There is no doubt that the rebel nobles caused considerable loss to the royal army by their desertion at the time of the conflict, yet Mushtaqi is all praise for them<sup>34</sup>.

Like Sultan Sikandar Lodi, Sher Shah Sur and Islam Shah Sur impressed Mushtaqi by their sense of justice and interest in the welfare of the people. That is why we find valuable information in his work about the enlightened rule of Sher Shah and his successor, Islam Shah. He does not consider Sher Shah a rebel against Humayun, nor does he call him Sher Khan, as 'Abbas Khan Sarwani does in order to please the Mughals. On the whole his account of the Sur dynasty is fair; neither he under-estimates nor glorifies anyone's reign. At places he furnishes rare information. For instance, he tells us that Sher Shah had six thousand *sawars* in his service

34. *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi*, ff. 60a-65b.



till 1531 but their number increased to 70,000 *sawars* within four years during the period of Humayun's occupation of Gujarat, because all the Afghan nobles flocked to him after the destruction of Bahadur Shah's power in Gujarat. Sher Shah paid his men twelve crore rupees as allowances and salary. Besides, Sher Shah's military campaigns against Malwa, Ra'isin (in Bhopal state) and Jodhpur have been described in full detail.<sup>35</sup> Abbas Khan Sarwani seems to have drawn upon the *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* for his account of these campaigns, as the *Tuhfah-i Akbar Shahi* contains nothing additional in this regard.<sup>36</sup>

In actual fact the *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* is the earliest work providing information about Sher Shah's works of public utility. As their details are scattered around anecdotes and stories, they have been left untapped to some extent by the medieval as well as modern writers. We are informed that Sher Shah aimed at eradicating poverty from his empire. He fixed a good amount of money equivalent to 500 tolas of gold to be distributed among the needy people daily. All deserving persons in every village, blind or otherwise handicapped, got stipends. Two kitchens were constructed in the capital, one for providing food to the poor and the other for the royal *harem* and state officers. Food was always available in both the kitchens for people. The high nobles also imitated their master in maintaining large kitchens for the benefit of the public.<sup>37</sup>

Moreover, Mushtaqi is the only Indian writer who informs us that Sher Shah left the palace of Gaur in an attractive condition by accommodating in it a large number of young girls of extraordinary beauty and charm and providing it with innumerable things of luxury and comfort on Humayun's approach in 1538. In this way he wanted to entrap Humayun, so that the latter might plunge headlong

35. *Ibid.*, ff. 52a-56b.

36. *Tuhfah-i Akbar Shahi*, Ms. Habib Ganj Collection, Aligarh. ff. 95-96 : *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi*, ff. 49b, 57a-59a.

37. *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi*, ff. 49b-50a, 57b-58a.



into a luxurious life, since the damp climate of Bengal was expected to tell on the health and efficiency of the Mughals.<sup>38</sup>

In addition to the details furnished about the progress of agriculture during Sher Shah's reign, Mushtaqi also takes note of certain events which show Sher Shah's sympathy with the peasants even in the alien territories. He is reported to have been keen on doing every thing for the amelioration of the condition of poor peasants, as the economy of his Empire largely depended on agriculture. Therefore, no noble, howsoever great, could be spared for doing harm to the peasants even at the time of the march of the army. "Whenever the army was stationed, the nobles pitched their tents near the green fields and looked after them at night lest any servant should cut it for the fodder of the animals and they might face humiliation in consequence.

Mushtaqi's account of Sher Shah's administrative system is also quite detailed. The *parganah* and *sarkar* officers have been mentioned along with the subordinate officials. The author not only describes Sher Shah's introduction of the *dagh* system (horse-branding) in the army, but also narrates anecdotes showing the King's interest in personally reviewing the *sawars* and fixing their allowances according to their merit. Similarly, information is provided about the construction of caravanserais, wells, etc. along with the newly-constructed roads interlinking the different parts of the Empire.

Islam Shah promoted the six thousand men whom he had in his contingent during the lifetime of his father. Everyone of them was favoured; the *sawar* was raised to the position of an officer, and the officer became a high *amir*. This

38. Campos, as quoted by Professor K.R. Qanungo in his *Sher Shah and His Times* (Calcutta, 1965, p. 189). Professor Qanungo says that no Indian source contains any information about Sher Shah's stocking the palace of Gaur with beautiful ladies. In fact, he could not utilise the *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* exhaustively and much of the valuable information has been missed by him in consequence. The *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* is the earliest extant source of the Afghan history, but only portions of it, translated by Elliot, could attract the notice of the learned Professor.



disturbed the old arrangement and displeased the nobles of Sher Shah, who thought it humiliating for them. The king also got angry with them in consequence.<sup>39</sup> He decided to destroy the powerful nobles of his father's time. He also reorganized the nobility and the army by introducing new grades. The ranks of 50, 250 and 500 *sawars* were established for the first time and their leaders were appointed from amongst the eunuchs. Two clerks, one Persian writer and the other a Hindi writer, were employed to keep the accounts of the soldiers. The ranks of the high nobles were also modified and changed. They were assigned the ranks of 5,000, 10,000, 20,000 and 30,000 *sawars*, and four officers, one Afghan *Munsif*, one Hindustani and two eunuchs, were appointed to supervise over them.<sup>40</sup>

It is only here that we find full details about the prolonged conflict between Khawas Khan and Islam Shah. The former reached Kamaon with 'Isa Khan Niazi after his defeat near Agra. Soon afterwards 'Adil Khan also joined them. They used to come down from the hills and ravage the imperial territories. Nizamuddin Bakhshi and the Afghan chroniclers following him say that Prince 'Adil Khan disappeared and was never heard of after the defeat of Khawas Khan, although they base their account of the Ambala battle, fought between Azam Humayun Niazi and Islam Shah, on the *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* and mention Khawa's quarrel with the Niazis over the issue of succession to the throne after Islam Shah. Khawas Khan deserted the Niazis because he wanted 'Adil Khan to occupy the throne, instead of Azam Humayun Niazi.<sup>41</sup> According to Mushtaqi, "So long as 'Adil Khan remained alive, he (Khawas Khan) kept himself attached to him. When 'Adil Khan passed away he said: 'I myself had no ambition. Islam Shah violated his promise which he had made on oath. Now 'Adil Khan is dead, therefore, my purpose has also come to an

39. *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi*, f. 71b.

40. *Ibid.*, f. 71b. The author of the *Tarikh-i Daudi* also copies these details in his work. See *Tarikhi-i Daudi*, p. 165.

41. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, li/112; *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani*, vol 1.



end. Islam Shah is the son of my master, and disobedience to him amounts to dishonesty."<sup>42</sup>

Likewise the details about the role of the Afghan nobles after the accession of Sultan 'Adil Shah Sur, though brief and given unchronologically, yet provides us with additional information. 'Adil Shah's accession was marked by the spread of the oligarchic anarchy caused by the inhuman murder of Firoz Khan, son of Islam Shah. The Afghan nobles were divided, supporting different Sur nobles, while the non-Afghan nobles of Sher Shah were not interested in supporting any one's claim to the throne, as they were usurpers. But later on they had to change their mind when the triumph of the Mughals became imminent.<sup>43</sup>

It may also be pointed out that at a few places the work suffers from glaring defects. For instance, Mushtaqi confuses Jamal Khan Sarang Khani with an ordinary *sawar* of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. First he says that Sultan Sikandar, having heard the news of his father's death, honoured Jamal Khan Sarang Khani with a robe, and leaving him in Delhi, proceeded to Jalali where the nobles had invited him for coronation. Thereafter, narrating an anecdote, he states that Jamal Khan and his brother were in the service of the Sultan as soldiers, but the Sultan was pleased to raise them to the position of *amirs* for their generous nature,<sup>44</sup> although Jamal Khan Sarang Khani was one of the nobles of Bahlul and held the town of Hisar Firuza during his reign.<sup>45</sup> As a matter of fact here Mushtaqi confuses some other Jamal Khan with Jamal Khan Sarang Khani.

We find similar mistakes in his account of Sher Shah's early career. For example, the details about the letter which Sher Shah's younger brother (Nizam Khan) addressed to Sher Khan in Agra during Ibrahim Lodi's reign are incorrect. He says that Nizam suggested to his brother in the letter

42. *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi*, ff. 59b-60a.

43. *Ibid.*, ff. 73a-b, 74a.

44. *Ibid.*, f. 8a.

45. *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi*, f. 6.



that he should leave for Bihar and enter Dariya Khan Nuhani's service because he would easily get the *iqta* of Sahsram from him as he stood in need of military help to fight against Sultan Ibrahim. Farid did accordingly. In fact, Sher Shah was allowed by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi to succeed to his father's *iqta* after his (Hasan Sur's) death. Sher Shah entered the service of Sultan Muhammad Nuhani (son of Dariya Khan Nuhani) after the Battle of Panipat. Other important events have also been described in a rambling way. No regard has been shown to chronology. Moreover, everything has been described in anecdotes and thus the *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* is reduced to a collection of anecdotes.

As regards Mushtaqi's style, it does not possess any literary charm. His language is plain and shaky. It appears that the thoughts and matter have been translated from Hindwi into Persian carelessly and without any attempt at literary elegance. These defects do not minimise the importance of the work. This is the first work ever produced in medieval India where we get pictures of the life and social customs of the masses. Before Mushtaqi, the concept of history reeled round the king: the historians surveyed everything from the royal court and never thought of writing about common people. For them history was a sacred branch of learning, dealing only with those important persons who were supposed to be chosen by God to rule over others. Unlike them, Mushtaqi infuses a new spirit in medieval historiography by taking note of the activities of ordinary people belonging to the lower strata of medieval society.

In the final analysis it may be stated that this work provides us with deeper insights into the state of the fusion of Hindu-Muslim culture as well as the emergence of new ideals and trends, accentuated by the communal harmony and cultural exchange between the two major communities in India. It certainly helps fill an important gap in our historical knowledge of the socio-political developments in the Sultanate of Delhi during the Afghan period. Mushtaqi

46. Cf. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, *Mughal Relations with the Indian Ruling Elite*, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 109-13.



does provide us with a picture of the age in its full colour and glory. Unlike him, the Afghan writers, Abbas Sarwani and Sheikh Kabir, in an attempt to magnify everything relating to Afghans, describe the nature of kingship and authority differently. They narrate anecdotes, mostly figments of their imagination, to show the greatness not only of the Afghan nobles but also of the petty Afghan soldiers. According to them, the petty Afghan soldiers were treated by the Afghan Kings as their brethren, but the fact was otherwise.<sup>46</sup>

### The Manuscripts

Two manuscripts of the work are available in the British Library, London. The one, Add. 11,633, contains 242 folios ; 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. by 5 in. ; lines, 3 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. long ; written in cursive *Nestalik*, apparently in the 17th century. The other manuscript is Or. 1929, Foll. 106, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. by 8 in. ; 17 lines to a page, each 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. long ; written in *Nestalik*, about A.D. 1850.<sup>47</sup> In India only one incomplete manuscript, wrongly described under the caption *Tarikh-i Bahlul Shah*, is available in the Tagore Library, Lucknow. It contains only the section, relating to the Lodi Sultans of Delhi and Agra. It may be noted that Abdullah and Muhammad Sadiq have copied many anecdotes from the *Waqi'at-e-Mushtaqi* verbatim. This translation is based on all the three manuscript copies available to us.

47. Rieu, *Catalogue* ii, 820b ; iii, 921b.







## CHAPTER I

# Reign of Sultān Bahlūl Shāh

Sultān Bahlūl showed interest in learning and prayers since (his) childhood. One day his uncle, Islām Khān, was offering prayers. Bahlūl stepped on the prayer carpet. One of the maid-servants forbade him, saying : "it is forbidden to place one's foot on the prayer carpet without due reason". The uncle of the Sultān said : "He is still a child. It is excusable even if he places his foot on my head". These words surprised people. The Khān, thereupon, predicted : "One day he will attain to high position and power and my family will rise into prominence due to him". As Bahlūl reached the age of discretion, he became a trader.<sup>1</sup>

Once three men came to India in connection with their trade. In course of their return journey, they halted in the town of Samānā. All the three men, Ballū (Bahlūl), Fīroz Khān and

1. This statement of Mushtāqī about Bahlūl's early career is not based on a fact of history. According to the earliest authority, Yāhyā Sirhindī, Islām Khān Lodi was one of the high nobles of Khizr Khān and Sultān Mubārak Shāh (Saiyid). *Tārīkh-i Mubarak Shāhī*, Bib. Ind., pp. 195-6.

Nizām-ud Dīn Aḥmad, the author of the *Tabāqāt-i Akbarī* refutes Mushtāqī's statement and observes that it is wrong to say that Bahlūl and his uncle, Islām Khān, dealt in the trade of horses. *Tabāqāt-i Akbarī*, i/297.

Firishtā's statement is conclusive. He says that Bahrām, the ancestor of Bahlūl came with the Afghān merchants to Multān where he entered the service of Malik Marwān (the *muqtā* of Multan) during the reign of Firūz Shāh. Hindu Shah, Frishta, *Gulshan-i-Ibrahīmī*, known as *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, Luknow edition, p. 173.



Qūṭb Khān paid a visit to Saiyid Abbān, a *majzub* (recluse), absorbed in the thought of God, who possessed spiritual power and was known for his saintliness. As they sat down, Shaikh Abbān said : "I sell the throne of Delhī for two thousand *tankās*. Anybody willing to purchase it ?" Ballū said : 'I have on me one thousand and six hundred *tankās*. If it is acceptable to your holiness, I offer it.' The Shaikh said : 'I accept it'. Bahlūl stood up hastily and untying the purse on his waist placed it before the saint. The latter said : 'Thou may go for the *Bādshahī* (throne) of Delhī has been bestowed on thee. These persons will serve thee'.

As they turned away, they jokingly remarked: 'O You. What did you do ? You did not have anything except that amount'. He said : 'I have done well. This sum was not sufficient for my entire life. I would have spent it away within a short time. If he is a saintly man and his prophesy proves true, I would have entered into a profitable bargain ; and if it does not prove true, to do a service to a Saiyid is an act of piety. In no way have I committed a mistake'. Thereupon, they congratulated him and sought blessings on him.

Bahlūl had been engaged in trade for a long time. Once he and his uncle (Islām Khān) presented themselves before Sultān Mūḥammad, the grandson of Khīẓr Khān Bādshāh in Delhi for selling their goods. They sold some horses to him (the Sultān) and were asked to collect their price from a certain area inhabited by rebellious (*mewas*) people. Since all their agents who were sent there had to return (empty-handed), they submitted (to the Sultān) : 'We may be permitted to go and be allowed to do whatever we may'. Sultān Mūḥammad ordered : 'If you overcome these rebels, I shall grant the *parganā* to you. Besides, you may retain whatever you gain as booty there'. Having reached there, they defeated the rebels in battle, seized their belongings, including the animals, and presented them before the Sultān. The Sultān, impressed by their courage and bravery, bestowed all the booty upon them and raised them to the dignity of *amirs* along with the grant of *parganās*. Thereupon, they gave up



trading and adopted the profession of soldiering. They made rapid progress and soon acquired such position that no one could rival them in the kingdom.

At that time, there were (Lodīs) settled in Sirhind and Lodīānā (Ludhlānā), where immigrants from Roh<sup>2</sup> came to join them and thus their number increased day by day. Every year they had their accoutrements inspected by the Sultān. The latter honoured them with royal favours and rewards. Their numbers and possessions increased and they brought extensive territory under their control. It was in the reign of Sultān Mūhammad that Islām Khān passed away and Ballū (Bahlul Lodī) succeeded him. Qūṭb Khān, son of Islām Khān, was in Sirhind.<sup>3</sup>

To cut the story short, Ballū, did admirable deeds and was honoured with the title of Faṭḥ Khān. When Sultān Maḥmūd Khalji, the king of Malwa, proceeded against Delhi, Faṭḥ Khān and Qūṭb Khān (son of Islām Khān Lodī) displayed great courage and dash. Sultān Mahmud Khalji went back after much fighting. The title of Khān-i Khānan was bestowed upon Faṭḥ Khan by Sultān Mūhammad in reward.

Khān-i Khānan was in Sirhind when Sultān Mūhammad died. Sultān Alauddīn, son of (Sultān Muḥammad Shāh) ascended the throne but his power decreased day by day. At last leaving his *wazir* Ḥamid Khān in the fort of Delhi the Sultān himself left for Badaon. Ḥamid Khān summoned two persons, so that he might hand over the throne (*badshahi*) to one of them. They were Qayām Khān Nagauri and Ballū. Before Qayām Khān could reach there, Ballū marched quickly to Delhi. On hearing of this, Qayām Khān turned back from the way. Ḥamid Khān said to him (Bahlul): 'Felicitations on your becoming the King, but I shall remain the *Wazir*.' He said in reply: 'I am a soldier, I am not so well-versed in the matters of government. You be the King

2. Roh in Pushto means a mountainous country as Abbās Khān Sarwāni, the author of the *Tārīkh-i Sher Shāhī* says. The Roh of medieval times is identified with the North-Western Frontier Province of Pakistan.

3. Sirhind is an important town in the district of Patiala in Punjab.



and I shall serve as the Commander of the army. I shall obey whatever order you may issue.' Hamid Khan said: 'I have not done it for my own sake but in the interest of the followers of Islam, which has considerably weakened during this period. I apprehended that further damage might be done to its followers. Since I do not find any person more powerful than you in this territory, I hand over the throne to you.' He brought out the keys of the fort and treasures and placed them before him. Bahlul said: 'I accept whatever service you assign me, that is, I undertake to look after the defence of the city and its gates. But the governance of the country is your business'.

There was friendship and co-operation between them for some time. Every day (Bahlul) came to Hamid Khan to pay respects. Soon the entire territory came under his control and his own men were posted everywhere for administration. One day Hamid Khan invited Bahlul and arranged a banquet in his own palace for him. The Afghans decided amongst themselves: 'All of us should do silly things and behave in a strange way there, so that he may be attracted towards us. He may consider us simple and not fear us'. They did accordingly. When they came there, they took off their shoes. Some of them tied them on their waist while others placed them on their heads. As Hamid Khan noticed this indecent act, he asked: 'Why are you behaving like this'? They said: 'We are taking precautions against the thieves'. He said: 'Rest assured. Nobody will take them away'. Then they untied the shoes from the waist and head. As they stepped on the fine and coloured floor coverings, they said to Hamid Khan: 'Your lordship: Kindly give us some of this covering. We shall (have) fillets (made out of it) and send them for our children, so that people would know that we received so much honour'. Hamid Khan said: 'I shall give better presents to you'.

They then sat down and took their meal. After the food had been taken, perfumes were brought there. Some of them rubbed their bodies with foliage, some ate the flowers, while others opened the packets of betel-leaves and ate the lime alone and when their mouths burned, they dropped down



packets (*bida*) of betel leaves from their hands. Hamid Khan asked the Khan-i-Khanan: 'What type of people are they? He replied: 'They are rustics. They know nothing except eating and dying'. Another practice was that whenever the Khan-i-Khanan came to visit Hamid Khan, he entered (the palace) accompanied with a few persons, leaving others at the gate. One day he said to his followers: 'As I enter the palace, you should also try to force your way inside, hurling abuses. All of you should enter suddenly and say: 'Who is Ballu to enter? Why should we be left outside? We are not his servants. We are Hamid Khan's servants just as Bahlul is his servant'.

They did accordingly. They turned the gate-keepers away from the gate. As there was a great uproar, Hamid Khan inquired: What is this uproar? People said: 'The Afghans are abusing Ballu (Bahlul) and saying that he himself goes inside for making salutation and leaves us at the gate. We are also the servants of this palace. We want to make salutation. Hamid Khan said: 'Let them come as they have come of their own will. They had already reached there. They came in, and made salutation. The attendants of Hamid Khan were standing around him. Two of the Afghans stood by the side of each of the attendants. In the meantime, Qutb Khan Lodi brought out a chain from his sleeve, and placing it before Hamid Khan said: 'It is advisable that you should wear this chain'. 'The country has become sick under you'. He (Hamid Khan) said: 'What wrong have I done to you that You have turned treacherous to me. (Qutb Khan) replied: 'We also do not intend to do any wrong to you but since you turned traitor and disloyal to your master, we do not repose confidence in you'. At last they arrested him and brought him out of the fort. They shut him in a palace which they had built for this purpose. (Sultan Bahlul) declared himself Bahlul Shah Ghazi and wrote a letter to Sultan 'Alauddin, reserving the territory of Badaon for the maintenance of the kitchen of the Sultan ('Alauddin).

From this time fortune befriended him and he made progress.



Thereafter, Sultān Maḥmūd Sharqī marched from Jaunpūr towards Delhi and laid siege to its fort. At that time Sultān Bahlūl was in Sirhind. Bībī Masto, the widow of Islām Khān, and the sons and dependants of the Afghāns shut themselves up and defended the fort. Bībī Masto having dressed up certain women in man's dress, sent them on the roof and guarded the posts in the fort in this manner. The number of the Afghāns left inside rained arrows. Shāh Sīkandar Sarwānī, the son-in-law of Khān Jahān Lodī sat on the rampart. He was tall, stout and adept in archery. It was his custom that he used to inscribe his name on the tips of the arrows, with gold. One day the water-bearer of Sultān Maḥmūd Sharqī was drawing water for the Sultān from the well near the rampart. There was a distance of three or four arrow-shots between the rampart and the well. Shāh Sīkandar shot an arrow from the rampart in such a way that his arrow pierced both the bags (of water) and was transfixed to ground. The water-bearer brought the arrow to the Sultān and told him the whole story. Everybody who heard it was astonished. After that nobody went near the rampart.

As the arrival of Sultān Bahlūl was delayed, the dignitaries of Delhī negotiated for peace. They approached Mūbārak Khān Lodī<sup>4</sup>, who was with Sultān Maḥmūd Sharqī to intercede for them. It was decided that the city and fort would be handed over to Sultān Maḥmūd and the Afghāns themselves would move out in safety. A man, named Saiyid Shams-ud' Dīn brought out the keys of the gate from inside the fort to Mūbārak Khān Lodī and also sought an interview in privacy. As his request was acceded, he asked the Khān : 'What is the relationship between you and Sultān Maḥmūd ?' 'No relation, said the Khān : 'He is my King and I am his servant'. The Saiyid again asked : 'What relation have you got with Sultān Bahlūl' ? He said : We are brothers. He is a Lodī (Afghān) and I am also a Lodī'.

4. According to Yāhya Sirhindī, his title was Daryā Khān Lodī, the *Mūqtā* of Sambhal. *Tārīkh-i Mūbarak Shahi*, 227. Also *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism*, Iqtidar Hūsain Siddiqi, Aligarh, 1969, p. XVIII, for more details.



The Saiyid said : 'What relation his mother and sister have got with you' ? He said : 'They are (like) my mother and sister'. Thereupon the Saiyid took out the keys and placing them before him said : 'It is for you whether you maintain the honour of your mother and sister in the fort or dishonour them by turning them out.' The Khān said : 'What should I do ? If Sulṭān Bahlul had come, I would have done something'. The Saiyid replied : 'We need a little respite as we are expecting Sulṭān Bahlul to arrive any moment. The Khān said : 'If that is so, then you should keep the keys with you and go back, I shall not hesitate to do whatever I can'.

Having left the place, he (the Khān) went to Sulṭān Maḥmūd and said : 'They brought the keys but I did not accept them as the news of Sulṭān Bahlul's arrival has also been received. When we defeat him, the entire country will come under our control'. He enquired : 'What step should be taken' ? The Khān said : 'Myself and Fath Khān Harevī should be deputed (to fight) while your Majesty should stay here'. It was done accordingly. Both of them were deputed. As they reached the village Narelā,<sup>5</sup> news was received about the approach of Sulṭān Bahlul. They pitched their camp there. Sulṭān Bahlul also arrived there. The Sharqīs were thirty thousand *sawārs* while Sulṭān Bahlul had seven thousand *sawārs*.<sup>6</sup> As both the armies stood face to face, the Afghāns took up their bows and rained arrows. Mubārak Khān and his contingent could not face them while Fath Khān Harevī was killed by an arrow. His grave is still in the village of Narela. The defeated army then rejoined Sulṭān's (Sharqī) camp.

The following day people noted from the rampart of the fort that the (Sharqī) army was returning in disorder. They reported the matter to Bībī Masto. The Bībī asked whether the army was returning as victor or vanquished. They expressed their ignorance. The Bībī asked them : 'See,

5. It is now included in Delhi.

6. According to Nīmat-ullāh, Bahlul's army consisted of only ten thousand *sawārs* and fifteen thousand footmen. *Tārīkh-i Khān-i Jahāni*, i/143.



whether the people, returning from (the battle-field) are going to the tent of the Sultān or turning to their respective tents. As they watched, they found that people were turning to their (respective) tents and collecting their goods. When they reported it to Bībī Masto, she said : 'Go and beat the drums'. As Sultān Maḥmūd heard the sound of drum, he inquired (from his men) : 'Why are they beating the drums ?' They replied : 'Inside the fort it is being proclaimed that our army has been defeated'. The Sultān ordered them to ascertain the fact. As the news was confirmed, Mūbārak Khān of Sambhal arrived and told the Sultān about the death of Fath Khān Harevī and the defeat of the army. Sultān Maḥmūd apprehended an uprising by his defeated troops and at once decided to retreat.

To cut the story short, Sultān Bahlūl was a pious ruler, known for his bravery, generosity and munificence. He never turned away a suppliant. He accumulated no treasures. Every territory that he seized after a battle, he distributed it among the nobles and soldiers, and maintained a brotherly intercourse with them. If somebody fell ill, he went in person and attended upon him. He also used to go personally to express condolence.

It had been a custom in Delhi that on the day of Sayum (a funeral ceremony performed on the third day of death) perfumes, *sharbats* (sweet-drinks) of different types and sweetmeats of various kinds were distributed (in the gathering). Sultān Bahlūl abolished this custom, and said : 'We cannot afford to continue it. If one Afghān dies, too many members of his clan would come, and how can he provide for them all'. He never did anything contrary to *shariā'* (religious law of Islām). He was endowed with good qualities. He did not employ gate-keepers. At the time of meals, every one who happened to be in the company shared the meal with him.

In his social meetings, he did not sit on the throne, and forbade people to stand (in the royal presence). All of them sat on fine carpets and coloured floor-coverings. He addressed



every one of them as *Masnad-i-'ālī* (exalted lordship). In the public *darbār*, he sat on the carpet. Some of the nobles were ordered to stand. He made all efforts to please and pacify his men, to the extent that if some one was displeased and got angry with him, he went to his house, unsheathed his sword and placed it before him, nay, at certain places he took off his turban from his head, placed it before the man and solicited forgiveness, saying 'If you do not consider me worthy of this office (Kingship), select some-one else and assign some other duty to me'.

He held the learned and pious men in respect. He personally heard the pleadings of all the people, and passed suitable orders. From the very beginning of his reign, he attended the religious sermons, and used to go to the mosque on Friday for congregational prayers.

Once, in the beginning of his reign, he went to the *Jāma Masjid*. Bandagī Mī'ān Qādan Dānishmand was on the pulpit and delivering the sermon. Sulṭān Bahlul was also present there. when the *Mūllā* came down, he started exclaiming: 'Praise be to God : Strange people (Afghāns) have appeared. I do not know whether they are the predecessors of Antichrist or posses the nature of Antichrist themselves. They call the mother, *Mūr* ; the brother, *rūr* ; the house, *gūr* ; the village, *shūr* ; soldier, *tūr* ; and the man, *nūr*. While he was saying these things, Sulṭān Bahlul put the handkerchief to his mouth, and smilingly said: 'Stop it Mūllā Qādan. We are all servants of God.'

The next day there was *Mūllā*, short in stature but fair Complexioned. The Sulṭān called him (humourously)

7. The titles *Masnad-i-'ālī* and *Majlis-i-'ālī* were two important titles with which all the ministers and high nobles were addressed since the early period of the Delhi Sultanate. The documents available in the *Insha-i Mahru* contain these titles, used before the names of the high nobles. In *The Manshur*, issued by Firuz shah regarding the appointment of Malik Maqbool Tilangani as the *Wazir-i Mumālik* in the first regnal year, the minister has been mentioned as *Masnad-i-'ālī 'Āzam Hūmayūn-Khān-i-Jahān*. Their exact significance is explained by the author of the Arabic history of Gujrat, Haji Dabir, who states that the King's deputy (*naib-imutlaq*) is entitled as *Masnad-i-'ālī* and the Wazir as *Majlis-i-'ālī*. *Zafar-ul-Walīh*, Vol. II, London, 1921, p. 613



*Pindālobi'a* (name of a grain). Mūllā said : 'You should expiate for two sins that you have just committed. First, I am a scholar ; one who humiliates a scholar and a man of learning, is guilty of apostacy. Second, you have laughed at a creation of God'. The Sultān repented and apologized.

Again, (once) the Sultān had come out from the urinal and was cleaning himself. In the meantime, a Mūllā, named Tūghlaq, appeared. The Sultān moved aside. The Mūllā thought that the Sultān wanted to avoid him, therefore, he quickened his steps and reached the Sultān. He caught hold of the arm of the Sultān and drew him towards himself; in course of this action the belt of the Sultān's trouser was loosened. The Sultān at once sat down and tying his belt, said : 'Fear God, Oh Mūllā'. What have you done'? He said : 'I have come for a religious work but you are avoiding me'. The Sultān said : 'I am going inside a while for a virtuous work'. The Mūllā said : 'What is more virtuous than a religious act? The Sultān replied : I am just coming. Whatever you ask me, I shall do'. He said : 'Virtuous acts should not be delayed'. The Sultān said : 'Speak out. What is this virtuous act'? He said : 'I have brought a deserving person with me. Please fix a stipend for him'. He at once fixed the stipend for him, allowed Mullah to depart and then went in for ablution. To day, if there is a ruler, how would he behave<sup>8</sup>.

The Sultān offered his prayers in public five times a day. It was his habit that when he sighted the rival army on the day of battle, he at once dismounted from his horse, bowed down (before God) and prayed for the success of Islam and the safety of Muslims. Having done it, he remounted his horse.

Ever since he assended the throne, none of his rivals achieved a victory over him. Even before his accession (to the throne) he never retreated from the battle-field. He either gained victory or fell down wounded or from the very outset avoided an engagement. This was his way since his pre-accession days.

8. Here Mushtaq is indirectly criticising the system of Mughal government.



When the power and influence of Sultan Bahlul was on the ascendancy, the number of his troops was increasing. Sultan Husain Sharqi started from Jaunpur for the conquest of Delhi. Having covered the distance, he came down to the Jamuna river and encamped on its bank. It is well known that he came to invade Delhi twice but on both the occasions he was defeated and driven away. In the first occasion, as he reached the fortification of Delhi and laid siege to it, Sultan Bahlul stood bare-headed and prayed at the holy tomb of Hadrat Qutb-ul-Aqtab Khwaja Qutb-ud' Din<sup>9</sup> (Bakhtiyar Kaki) throughout the night. Early in the morning a man appeared from the heaven and handed over a staff, saying: 'Go' and hit these few drowsy fellows who have come. He at once prepared and came out to face Sultan Husain Sharqi. There ensued a fierce battle in which a reverse was suffered by the army of Sultan Husain and he retreated to Jaunpur.<sup>10</sup>

Sultan Husain Sharqi had sought blessings from his holiness, *Shaikh ul-Mashaikh Shaikh Badiul-Haque* (before his march to Delhi). He (the saint) had replied: 'I cannot pray for your success because I am praying for Sultan Bahlul with whom the cause of Islam is identified'.

The next, Sultan Husain decided to start for the conquest of Delhi with all the army and support (of his allies). He summoned all the *Zamindars* and *Rajas* along with the armies of the *parganas*. The day he marched, he called

9. *Shaikh Qutb-ud' Din Bakhtiyar Kaki* was one of the chief disciples of the *Shiakh Mu'in-ud Din* of Ajmer, the founder of the *Chishti Silsilah* in India. *Shaikh Qutb-ud' Din* settled down in Delhi where he died during the reign of Sultan Iltutmish. His tomb is in Mehrauli, New Delhi.

10. This event took place in the year 1478, and was a turning point in the history of Sultan Bahlul. First Sultan Bahlul concluded a peace-treaty on the conditions of Sultan Husain Sharqi as he could not face him successfully due to the numerical inferiority of his army and then made a surprise attack on the retreating Jaunpur army. He succeeded in seizing the baggage and treasures along with forty nobles. Sultan Husain saved himself by taking to flight: cf. *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, op. cit., pp. 22-3.



Malik Suman (known as Zabardīn) for consultation. Bibī Khonzā (the queen) was also sitting behind the curtain. The Sultān said to the Malik : 'We intend to march for the conquest of Delhi. What is your feeling about this plan' ? The *Malik* replied : 'The idea is very good ; but you should not be restless and hasty in this matter. You should station your army on the frontier this year and collect your forces there. Thereafter, leaving your vilayet (territory) behind, you should turn towards (the country of) Delhi. The territory of Delhi would become desolate and devastated ; people and soldiers of the region would come and join your servants. Next year you should encamp inside the limits of the territory of Delhi; chaos and confusion will prevail there in consequence. Driven to straits, Bahlūl will either take to flight or be forced to fight. Thereupon, his people will not remain loyal to him. All of them will look after their own interests. When the rival is thus weakened, you should do whatever you like'.

Having heard the advice of the Malik, Bibī Khonzā<sup>11</sup> started speaking from behind the curtain : 'What has come over these soldiers and *sardārs* (nobles) ? What has happened to them that they are showing lack of courage and talking like cowards ? Where have their heads fallen in the battle field that they are showing cowardice and lack of courage ? Why has fear overcome them' ?

The Malik retorted : 'Bibī : please refrain (from uttering such words) and do not consider the loss of heads on the battle-field easy; when this (Malik's) head will be chopped off in the battle, the worst will happen.'" Having said these words, the Malik stood, made obeisance and then departed, saying : 'When your Majesty always act upon her advice, why do you consult me'?

Ultimately, when he reached Delhi, the Sultān (of Jaunpūr) sustained defeat after a fierce fighting. Malik Suman was killed, while Bibī Khonzā fell a prisoner into the hands of the Afghāns.

11. She was the daughter of Sultan Ala-ud' Din Shāh (the Saiyid) of Delhi. *Badaoni*, i/309.



Malik Suman was a courageous man and possessed saintliness. Whatever was uttered by his auspicious tongue, came true. The words, spoken to Bibi Khonzā, may be cited as the example. To give an other example, Malik Saman was (originally) the servant of Fath Khān Harevī. One day Sulṭān Husain was the guest in the house of Fath Khān<sup>12</sup>. The Sulṭān said to (the host) that he wanted to get one thing from the Khān. The Khān said that he would sacrifice everything except Malik Suman. But the Sulṭān demanded Malik Suman and hearing this the Khān had to agree but his eyes were filled with tears. Seeing it, Malik Suman said : 'Who am I for whose sake you are so grieved? We must accept whatever his Majesty orders, because it makes no difference whether I am here with you or in the personal service of his Majesty. I serve his Majesty everywhere. But I shall remain sincere and attached to you wherever I (may live). My friendship and attachment to you is such that if my head is chopped off, first it will be brought to your house and then taken to any other place.' As Sulṭān Bahlul sent the head of Malik Suman along with Bibi Khonzā to Sulṭān Husain Sharqī, people first carried his head to the house of Fath Khān and from there they went to the royal palace.

At another time, when Sulṭān Husain had marched to capture the fort of Gwalior, the sons of Malik Suman laid down their lives while attacking the gate (of the fort). Many people tried their utmost to reach the place and bring them back, but in vain. As they returned, Sulṭān Husain said (to the Malik) in taunt : 'We see that they boast of their swordsmanship, but they can not bring their sons out from the battle-field'. Malik Suman was present there. He said : 'Your Majesty : The sons of Suman have fallen at the place, where if the Kings of Seven Climes gather and try they can not reach there. If God wills, when I shall fall in a battle, you

12. His full name was Fath Khān Harevī. He was killed by the Afghans in the battle of Narela in 1452 in the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī, the father of Sulṭān Husain Sharqī. Therefore, Mushtaqi seems to have confused Sulṭān Maḥmūd with Sulṭān Husain.



will not be able to cast your glance at the spot. This is my pledge to you.

The day when *Malik Suman* obtained martyrdom, *Sultān Husain* tried along with his army seven times to reach his body but failed. Thus, whatever *Malik Suman* had said, came true. *Sultān Husain* took to flight and *Masnad-i-'ali Qutlagh Khān*<sup>13</sup> was made prisoner by the *Afghāns*.

*Sultān Bahlūl* was in the east where he passed away. All the nobles invited *Mi'ān Nizām Khān* unanimously from *Delhi* for coronation. As he decided to start, he thought about posting someone in *Delhi*. Having honoured *Jamāl Khān Sārang Khān* with a *Khilat* and conferred other honours upon him, he posted him at *Delhi*, and moved on his journey. As he reached the *parganā* of *Jalālī*<sup>14</sup>, he met the bier of *Sultān Bahlūl*. He came down from the horse, offered prayers and sent the bier to *Delhi*. There is a raised ground in the vicinity of *Jalālī* (town) on the bank of the river *Kālī*, known as *Kaushik-i-Firuz Shāh* (rest-house, built by the order of *Sultān Fīrūz Shāh*). *Mi'ān Nizām* ascended the throne there with the title<sup>15</sup> of *Sultān Sīkandar*. From there he returned by forced marches.

The story *Jamāl Khān*<sup>15</sup>, whom he had left (in *Delhi*), is as follows: They were two brothers in the service (of the prince). They had only one dress; if one of them went to the *diwān*, the other stayed in the house, covering himself with a sheet. Likewise, they possessed one horse. If one rode to (the royal court) for making salutation, the other had to stay inside the house. One day, one of the brothers went to make salutation and, by chance, a supplicant came to visit the other: He said: 'I am a Saiyid and have a grown

13. He was the *Wazir* of *Sultān Husain Sharqi*. He was known for his wisdom and scholarship throughout India.

14. *Jalālī* is a famous town in the district of 'Aligarh.

15. *Mushtaqi* has wrongly confused this *Jamāl Khān* with *Jamāl Khān Lodī Sārang Khānī*. The latter was one of the prominent nobles of *Sultān Bahlūl* and held the charge of *Hisar Fīruza* territory during his reign. *Abbās Sarwani, Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, ed. S.M. Imam Uddin, Dacca, 1964, p.9.



up daughter. I want to give her in marriage to one of the relatives. For God's sake, do not hesitate in giving whatever you can afford'. "Jamāl Khān said: 'I have got only this horse. Take it away'. As he got the horse, he said: 'why do you keep the saddle'? It was also given to him.

Upon his return from the *diwan*, the other brother did not find the horse. He asked his brother about it. Jamāl Khān said: 'I have given away the horse for gaining divine favour.' He said: 'What will now happen to us'? (Jamāl Khān) said: 'One of us was a horseman while the other had to serve as a footman. Now both of us have become footmen. If God desires us to be *sawars*, He will help both of us to be *sawārs*'. Next morning, it so happened that he was summoned and honoured with a robe and other favours, such as *ina'am*, and the grant of a *parganā*. He purchased one hundred and twenty horses in a single transaction.



## CHAPTER II

# Account of Sultān Sikandar Lodī\*

Now I come to the main theme : Sultān Sīkandar was a great king, devoted to *shari'ā* (Islamic law). He loved justice and excelled in bravery and large-heartedness. During his reign, people were prosperous. Agriculture and the work of building construction increased considerably. The soldiers enjoyed immense prestige. The traders used to travel in his country with a sense of security. The artisans and the peasants passed their time in contentment. There prevailed such peace and order in the vilayet that the robbers and highwaymen submitted on their own, became law-abiding and settled down to live peacefully. If any one turned from the path of obedience, he (the Sultān) either got his head severed off the body or expelled him from the Empire. As for the recruitment of soldiers, who did not possess arms and equipments, the Sultān first inquired about their ancestry and then granted (enveryone of them) a *jāgīr*<sup>16</sup> saying Go and have prepared the weapons and accoutrement out of the income of your *jāgīr*'.

---

\* Mūshtaqi neither divides his work into chapters nor describes any event under a heading. Headings have been placed for the sake of convenience without altering the narrative.

16. The term *jāgīr* is conspicuous by its absence in the literature produced before Akbar's accession to the throne. During the Afghan period all the assignments of land, made to the nobles or other government officers in lieu of cash salary were called *iqtas*. cf. *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, op. cit., pp. 146-8, for details.



Not even a yard or an inch of land was left out of cultivation in the entire empire. In case, some body had a dispute with his slave, he approached the royal court and requested for an examination (of the case). Thereafter, the investigation began. Nobody could compel anybody. None could forcibly get a cot from the house of the peasant or press him for forced labour. He (the Sultān) had abolished and banned all such innovations, which caused harm to people. He had desecrated the places of worship of the infidels ; the place in Mathūrā where they held a festival was left without any trace of heathenism. He built caravan-serai's at that place for the travellers to have rest. Besides, shops for the artisans, butchers, cooks, bakers and confectioners were also established there. If a Hindu, unknowingly, went there and tried to take bath, he was at once stripped off his clothes and punished. They were not allowed to get their beards or moustaches shaved there. Despite inducement and offer of money, the barbers would not go to the Hindu at that place.

In every city and territory, Islām prospered considerably and its laws were enforced. The mosques, *Jamā'at-Khānās*<sup>17</sup> and *Khanqāhs* were full of people. *Muhtasiban*<sup>18</sup> were appointed from amongst competent persons. Scholars and teachers were appointed in *madrasas* (schools). The nobles, their sons and soldiers kept themselves busy with acquiring knowledge, learning and performing religious acts. Every man who was *ahl-i-nisab*, i.e. under religious obligation to pay *zakat*, paid full *zakat* (religious cess, to be distributed among poor people).

During the winter they distributed sheets (of cloth) among the widows and garments among the indigent people.

17. Generally *Jama'at Khānā* meant the place where a Chishtī saint lived along with disciples, while the residential place of a Suhrawardī saint was known as *Khānqāh* during the 13th, the 14th, 15th and the 16th centuries. Here Mushtaqi has used both the names keeping the difference of the two Sufi orders in mind.
18. *Muhtasiban*, the plural of *Muhtasib* was an official appointed to look after public morality and prevent people from violating religious laws.



In the rainy season, blankets were given to the beggars. It was a common custom that everyone kept foodgrains at his door for distribution among the needy persons. As the nobles rode out, they took with them money according to their resources for distribution among the beggars who sat along the route. If, by chance, they rode out several times in a day, they did not violate this custom at any time. On Fridays, in every house *Jūmagi* (amount of money for distribution on Friday) was set aside for distributing to the beggars. Money was also distributed among the beggars in the mosque at the time of congregational prayer on Fridays.

In every city, huge amount of money was disbursed from the royal treasury two times a year for the scholars, learned men, widows and other deserving people. Officers were ordered to prepare the list of the deserving persons in each *muhalla* (settlement) under their charge. They regularly sent to everyone whatever was fixed for him. The *'āmil*s who were appointed for the administration of *parganās* were not transferred. In the *farmans* issued to the nobles, regarding the assignment of *parganas* and territories, it was specifically mentioned that the *imlāk* and *wazāif* (landgrants) were excluded. It was enough and nobody needed a fresh *farmān*.

The nobles and army officers, who stayed at the court or were deputed to a region had had their *vakils* (deputies or representatives) posted at the court. The Sultān issued communication (*hukm*) to him regarding any matter and he submitted the reply to him. When the *farmans* were despatched to the nobles, they used to go out on foot—some one *Kroh*,<sup>19</sup> some two *Krohs* and others three *Krohs*—to welcome it. A platform was erected on which the bearer of the *farmān* stood and the noble standing below the platform received the *farmān* in the most respectful manner, placing it upon his head. If he was ordered to read it on the spot (publicly), he did so, otherwise it was taken by him to his house.

19. One *Kroh* was equal to two miles. During the Mughal period *Kroh* was written as *Kos*.



The Sultān banned the (procession) of the spear (*Nezā*) of Sālar Mas'ūd Ghāzī in the whole of his empire. Fake graves were demolished. Nobody worshipped *Shīetla* (the goddess of small-pox). He established brotherly relations with the Muslim Kings; letters and presents were exchanged. In the whole of his Kingdom, there was no territory which could be considered a *Dar'al harb*.<sup>20</sup>

### Cheapness of Food Grains

Food grains, cotton cloth, silk, silver and gold, horses, cows, camels, sheep, as well as other essentials upon which people depend, were so cheap that every one felt content. Nobody faced any difficulty in this respect. Even the beggars and handicapped persons who used to sit on the way side did not have to cry for money. Every one of the nobles, soldiers or other people passing there gave them on his own alms according to his capacity. If a beggar passed away, his belongings, whether they were worth thousands or lac or more than a lac, was handed over to his legal heir. In case, there was none of his relatives, then his belongings were distributed among the beggars.

In his young age (i.e. before accession to the throne), he (Prince Nizām Khān) had thought of attacking Kurukshetra, which was a sacred place of the Hindus. He held the *meḥzar* (council of the 'ulama) and sought their opinion about his decision. *Bandagi* Maliku'l Ulama Mī'ān 'Abdūllāh Ajodhāni was present there. Everyone (of the 'ulamā) unanimously pointed to him and said that in his presence they were not competent to express their opinion. Mī'ān Nizām, thereupon, turned towards *Bandagi* Mī'ān 'Abdūllāh and asked his opinion. The Mī'ān asked: 'What is the thing there'? The Prince replied: 'There is a tank where the infidels come from every direction and take bath'. The Mī'ān asked: 'Since how long this tradition is being maintained there'? The

20. Darul Harl was the territory ruled over by a non-Muslim, hostile to Islām and Muslims and the invasion of which by Muslim army was justified.



Prince said : 'It is an ancient custom'. The Mī'ān asked as to what the previous Muslim rulers had done. The Prince answered that up to his time 'no King has yet turned his attention to reducing it'. Then the Mī'ān said : The responsibility for this rests with the previous rulers, it does not fall upon you. This (remark) infuriated the Prince who placed his hand on the dagger, exclaiming : 'I will first kill you and then devastate the place'. The Mī'ān said : 'death is a certainty but nobody dies without God's will. None the less, whosoever comes before a tyrant, he should be ready to face death, only then he should meet (the tyrant). Since you asked me, I have explained the religious law. If you have no respect for the holy *shari'ā*, what is the use of inquiring ? This pleased him and he said : 'If you had permitted me, I would have despatched a few thousand infidels to the hell and many Muslims would have been benefited from plunder'. The Mī'ān said : 'Whatever I had to say, I have already said. Other than that, you decide for yourself. The Prince rose up from the assembly. All of the 'ulamā (except Mī'ān Abdūllāh) left the place. Bandagī *Malik-ul-ulamā* (Abdūllāh) remained standing in his place. The Prince did not turn towards anyone, but he requested Mī'ān 'Abdūllāh to visit him occasionally. Having said this, he gave him leave to depart.

He was a young boy when Tātār Khān Yūsūf Khail<sup>21</sup> rebelled in Lahore against Sultān Bahlūl. (Tātār Khān) forcibly seized vast region. The Prince (Nizam Khān) was in Panīpat. He also assigned certain villages attached to the *parganās* of other nobles to his own men. The nobles referred the matter to Sultan Bahlūl. The Sultān sent a *farmān* to Khwājā Shaikh Sa'id Farmali,<sup>22</sup> the *peshwā* of the Prince to this effect : 'The Prince behaved thus at

21. Tātār Khān Yūsūf Khail (Lodī) held the trans-Sutlej territories of the Lodī Empire cf. *The Afghān Governors of the Punjab During the Life of Guru Nanak*, Iqtidar Hussain Siddiqi, *Journal of Sikh Studies*, Guru Nanak University, Amritsar, Vol. I, No. 2, August, 1974.

22. His full name was Khwājā Shaikh Sa'id Fārmuli. He was a non-Afghān *Shaikhzada* and he held important position under Sultan Sikandar Lodī.



your instance. If you possess courage, seize (the *pargands*) belonging to Tātār Khān's *vilayet*. What is this courage that you plunder my *vilayet*?' Shaikh Sā'id went to Prince Nizam with the *farmān* in his hand and said: 'May kingship be auspicious for you'. The Prince inquired as to whether everything was all right? He replied: 'Everything is all right, however, and Sultān Bahlul has himself made over the regal authority to you'. The Prince asked: How could you speak in this way? He said: 'This (*farmān*) has been sent. He (the Prince) said, 'Let me see' (Having said this) he opened the *farman* and read it. Its contents were: If you possess any courage, you should encroach on Tātār Khān's *Vilayet*. (Thereupon) the Prince said: 'What kind of a king is he?' Shaikh Sā'id said: Kingship is not obtained easily. You have been assigned a duty; if you perform it, you are certain to gain the throne. The deed which the Sultān ought to do himself, he has assigned it to you. And, it is the indication of (his willingness to nominate you) as his successor to the throne'. 'Well, said the Prince 'What must I do then?' (The Shaikh) said: Rise and try your fortune: Verse:

No one receives a kingdom by way of inheritance  
Unless he wields the sword with both his hands for  
long.

During those days Mī'ān Nīzām had one thousand and five hundred renowned *sawārs*. One of his leading companions was 'Umar Khān Sarwānī. He had five hundred *sawārs*; three hundred *sawārs* were placed under his brothers, sons and other relatives. Besides, there were also twenty-two *sawārs* (officers) over five hundred *sawārs*. There were one thousand additional *sawārs*. Amongst other nobles such as Shaikh Sa'id Farmullī, his brothers, the sons of his brothers and other relatives were also there. Mī'ān Gadāī, Mī'ān Hūsain (Farmuli) and Shaikh Sa'id were real brothers. Dariyā<sup>23</sup>

23. Dariya Khān Nūhānī was the son of Mubārak Khān Nūhānī, Sultān Bahlul's *muqtā* of the territory of Karā and Manikpūr.



Khān (Nūhānī), Naṣīr Khān<sup>24</sup> (Nūhānī), Sher Khān (Nūhānī)<sup>25</sup> and Bījlī Khān Nūhānī were also present along with their contingents. Ikhtiyār Khān Togh and Mūqīm Khān (the latter being the commander of one thousand tried *sawārs*), also presented themselves for service. One day they held a council in which they decided to begin action without delay. Certain *Shiqqdārs* were deputed to seize the *parganās* included in the *vilayet* under Tātār Khān's occupation. They arrested (Tātār Khān's) men, a few of whom fled away to Tātār Khān.

Having completed preparation, Tātār Khān started against the royal Prince. Both the armies came face to face in the plain of Ambālā<sup>26</sup> and a fierce battle took place there. (Later on) Islām Shāh and Haibat Khān Nīāzī also fought in the same plain. God willing it will be described at its proper place.

On the day of battle, the two sides stood facing each other. As they were marching to the batter-field, Khwājī Shaikh Sa'id glanced two or three times at Mī'ān Nīzām, who asked him : 'What are you noticing' ? The Mī'ān answered : 'I am seeing that much experienced and brave men are marching on your side ; if only you keep your courage and lead them well, there is hope for victory. If you have some other idea, you may, however, witness as to what these persons, whom you have gathered, are capable of doing. Though there is a large army (under Tātār Khān), yet there are not even ten soldiers such as these'. There were fifteen thousand *sawārs* (under Tātār Khān). (Further) he said : "If the victory is gained through the exertion of these people, it

24. Naṣīr Khān Nūhānī was the elder brother of Dariya Khān. Sultan Sikandar entrusted Naṣīr Khān with the government of Ghāzipūr *sarkār* in 1495-6.
25. Sher Khān Nūhānī was the younger brother of Mubārak Khān Nūhānī. He was killed by the rebel Bachgoti *zamīndars* in 1494-5.
26. One of the important cities in the modern state of Haryana. During the Lodī period Ambala was one of the dependancies of the *Sarkār* of Sirhind. cf. Iqtidar Hūsain Siddiqui, *Evolution of the vilayet, the Shiqq—and the Sarkār during the Delhi Sultanate period, Medieval India : Quarterly*, Vol., No, 1-4, Abgarh, 1963.

133235



all right, otherwise, you are mounted on a swift horse and nobody will overtake you'. The Prince laughed and said : *Khawājī* : "I see the feet of your horses on the ground, whereas the feet of my horse seem to be buried deep in the ground. I will not turn out my back from this battle". The *Khawājī* at once stretched out his hand for congratulating him and said : 'This is the sign of victory, in case the Commander possesses such courage.'

When they reached the battle-field, the first person who came out on their side (to attack) was *Dariyā Khān Nūhānī*. Accompanied by thirty persons, he stood between the two armies, and having consulted his friends moved on. From the other side, a commander advanced at the head of five hundred *sawārs* ; the rival armies were watching the scene. *Dariyā Khān* moved swiftly along with his friends to attack the enemy. Both the forces used the sword so fiercely that sparks flashed from armours and helmets and the eyes of the spectators were dazzled. At last, *Dariyā* overcome them and put them to flight. They rejoined their army. *Dariyā Khān* also returned to his post.

When he (*Dariyā Khān*) came out second time he stood at the same place. The *sawārs* came out from the rival army to fight him. Again, the same thing happened ; they moved swiftly and got to close quarters and fought. *Dariyā Khān* gained upper hand and forced them to run away to their own army. Three times the battle was fought in this way. When *Dariyā Khān* came and stood at his place (fourth time) and no person turned up (against him) from the other side, he said to his comrades : 'Our fear has seized them ; all of you, my friends remain here standing, whilst I attack them all alone'. He attacked the army three times, and returned safely after wielding the sword. As *Dariyā Khān* came to his place, *Miān Hūsain Farmulī* sallied forth with seventy persons and set his men in the manner of *Dariyā Khān*. As terror had already been created (in the rank and file of *Tātār Khān's* army), one thousand five hundred *sawārs* came out to encounter *Miān Hūsain*, as soon as he advanced from his post. He (along with his comrades) charged them and got to close grips. Like *Dariyā Khān*, he



marched out three times. They too (the enemies) acted in the same manner. Three times, Mī'ān Hūsain went singly, wielded his sword in the ranks of the enemy, and returned safely. As they, (the enemy) stuck to their position, 'Umar Khān Sarwānī came out from this side, accompanied by five hundred *sawārs*. Thereupon, Mī'ān Hūsain Farmulī went to him and made salutation. 'Umar Khān said to him : 'May mercy (of God) be with you : Darīyā Khān and you have performed such a deed that everybody is praising. Now let us, old men, do our part of work this time.' The Mī'ān replied : 'We have done nothing. I have come with the intention of doing something in your company, so that it may be worthy of any consideration'. 'Umar Khān answered: 'You have already done more than your duty ; now it is our turn'. But Mī'ān Hūsain adjured him by the Qurān, saying : 'I have determined to serve under you'. The Khān said : 'I suggest one thing to you, do that.' The Mī'ān agreed to accept it. Then the Khān said : 'You hold my flag ; so long as I am alive, do not move from the ground. If I remain alive, I shall reach to you in any case. They agreed between themselves and then moved on.

Meanwhile, Ibrāhīm Khān, son of 'Umar Khān (Sarwānī) galloped up to (his father) and, adjuring him by the Sharia 'said, 'I adjure you not to advance your horse'. The Mī'ān asked : 'Why ?' He said : 'Since you looked on whilst Darīyā Khān, son of Mubārak Khān and Mī'ān Hūsain, son of Mī'ān Muḥammad Farmulī were fighting, look also at what your son does'. 'The Khan said : 'We are all standing here for the same purpose'. Ibrāhīm Khān said : 'Nothing will be perceived in the crowd ; you ought to see me advance singly.' Having said this, he attacked the rival army all alone. Three times, he fell on the enemy and having struck with his spear, came out safely. Men of both the armies were surprised by his valour and courage. Each time, when he fell upon the enemy, he struck down three or four persons with his spear and their horses fled riderless. When he had fought in this manner three times, 'Umar Khān loosened the veil of his face and raised the battle cry: '*Din, Din-i-Muḥammad*'. Then he charged the enemy. No body in the rival army



could make a stand against him. Leaving the battle-field, they sought safety in flight. By chance, Tātār Khān was slain, while his brother, Hūsan Khān was made a prisoner (by the followers of Nizām), and thus victory befriended Mī'ān Nizām. From this date onward, the Prince made rapid progress, until he obtained the throne.

When he was in his youth, aged 18 years, he (the Prince) fought a battle against his brother, Bārbak Shāh in the plain of Qanauj.<sup>27</sup> As he was to mount the horse, a *dervish* came and requested him to give his hand into his hand. He extended his hand. Holding his hand, the *dervish* said: 'Go the victory is with thee'. The Prince withdrew his hand (with disgust). The *dervish* asked the reason as to why he withdrew his hand. The Prince said: 'You have not said the proper thing, therefore, I have withdrawn my hand.' The *dervish* said: 'I said that victory is with thee'. The Prince said: 'this, precisely, is the improper thing.' The *dervish* asked: 'why?' The Prince replied: 'When there is a fight between two Muslims, one ought not to side with anyone, but to say that the victory should remain with those whose success will suit the interest of Islām. Therefore, you ought to pray for such a victory.'

**Anecdote:** After (the death of Sūltān Bahlūl), Sūltān Sikandar conquered Bayanā and then returned to Delhī. On the third day (after return), he rode to the *chaugān* ground (for game). While he was on the field the news arrived from the east that Mūbārak Khān Nūhānī having fought against Jogā Hindu<sup>28</sup> had taken to flight after his defeat. Jogā

27. Bārbak Shāh held the vilayet of Jaunpūr towards the close of Bahlūl's reign. On the death of his father he was supported by Mūbārak Khān Nūhānī in his fight against Sūltān Sikandar for the throne, but he was defeated. See *Firishtā*, p. 180; *Tabāqāt-i Akbarī*, i/316.

28. Rā'i Jogā has been mentioned only by Mūshtāqī, while Nizāmud'-din and Ni'matullāh state that the *zamindārs* of the eastern territories were in alliance with their former overlord, Sūltān Hūsein Sharqī and rose in rebellion on the latter's investigation in 1495. 'Abdullāh, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī* has copied

(Contd. on next page)



pursued him and made him a prisoner. When the Sūltān received this news, he threw down the *chaugān* (polo stick) and went straight away to the residence of Khān Jahān Lodī. He reported the matter to him and asked as to what should be done. Khān Jahān said : 'Food is just ready, eat a little of it as a good omen and then set out.' The Sūltān said : 'We shall eat after the first stage. Get up'. They rode away and caused the tent to be pitched outside (the fort). They moved by forced marches and came up on Jogā on the tenth day. When they reached the river Kūdī,<sup>29</sup> an informer arrived. They inquired from him as to how many *krohs* away was the accursed Jogā. He replied that he was seven *krohs* away. The Sultan further inquired. 'Has he got information about us' ? He said : No'. Then he ordered the army to march on. Some of the nobles requested (the Sūltān) to stay there until the arrival of the (main) army. The Sūltān, thereupon, inquired how many troops had kept pace with him. He was told that there were (only) five hundred *sawars*. He said : 'The fortune of Islām, is in the ascendance; so this number is enough'.

Ultimately, he proceeded with that very number (of *sawārs*). There were fifteen thousand *sawārs* and three lac footmen (on the opposite side). After they had covered a few *krohs*, another spy arrived, from whom the Sultān inquired as to how far Jogā was away from that place. He answered : 'Three *krohs*'. The Sultān asked : "Has he got information about us." The spy answered : 'Not as yet.' The Sūltān said ! 'Friends : Exert yourselves. Before he gets information (of our coming) and takes to flight, we must reach him'. After they had marked another two *Krohs*, a

(from previous page)

Mūshtāqī's account of Sikandar Lodī's operations against the rebels *verbatim*. However, Jogā belonged to the Bachgotī tribe of the Rājputs. Elliot also mentions the Bachgotī Rājputs as predominating the areas on the borders of the districts of Jaunpūr, Gorakhpur, and Awadh. Cf. *Races of the North-Western Provinces*, i/47-9.

29. The River Gomti has been mentioned by certain medieval writers as the river Kūdī.



spy came and submitted : '(Joga) Hindu has received the news about His Majesty's arrival. He has fled away without taking anybody, or any thing with him.'

On his arrival at (Jogā's) tent, the Sūltān found that he (the rebel) had not taken even his wearing apparels ; he had just fled away (in whatever he was wearing). From that place, he pursued him up to the fort of Chaund,<sup>30</sup> where Sūltān Husain Sharqī was staying; Jogā got refuge with him in the fort. Sūltān Sīkandar encamped in the vicinity of Chaund and wrote (the following) letter to Sūltān Husāin: 'I regard you in the place of my father and have very high respect for you ; all that happened between you and my father, Sūltān Bahlūl, has passed. It is no use remembering the past. This fort and the territory which you have taken possession of today, will remain with you. I have come hither to chastise Jogā who has been guilty of serious crimes. I want to punish him for his crime. The demands of friendship and sincerity enjoin it that you either punish him yourself or hand him over to me, so that I may settle my account with him.

Sūltān Husain Sharqī sent his own envoy, along with a letter, in the company of the ambassador of Sīkandar. The letter's contents were; 'Jogā is my servant, and your father was a soldier; I fought with him sword in hand. You are a silly chap, and if you are guilty of any folly, I will strike you with my shoe instead of sword.' (Thereupon) Sūltān Sīkandar retorted: 'Since I first styled him my father, I still adhere to that way of civility. My purpose is to counter the infidels' (designs). If he sides with the infidels, then I shall be required to act. I have not been guilty of folly; he happens to be a Mussalman, yet he utters the word 'shoe'. God willing, the same mouth will be stricken with the shoe.'

(Sūltān Sīkandar) said to Mī'ān Saiyid Khān, one of the high nobles of Sūltān Hūsain Sharqī who had come there as envoy: 'You are (among) the (descendants) of the Prophet of God, on whom be the Mercy of God : Why do you not advise him to be reasonable, since he will afterwards have

30. Chaund is now situated in the Shahabad district of Bihar. It is now called Chand.



cause to repent' ? The Mīran replied: 'In this matter I am obedient to him; Whatever he chooses is my choice'. The Sūltān said: 'Fortune and good sense are inter-dependent; whosoever suffers a change in fortune, also loses his senses. You are helpless. Tomorrow, with the will of God, when he takes to flight and you come as captive, I shall remind you (of it). If he pays some heed (to this advice), even now, it will be good for him'. Having said it, he allowed him (the envoy) to depart. Then he consulted his nobles about the battle and also visited everyone's tent, saying: 'You have served the cause of the late Sūltān Bahlūl Shāh out of the spirit of belonging to the same *biraderi* (brotherhood). This is my first affair and I am certain that you will not fail to do your best for me'.

As the day dawned, the army was arranged in order of battle; all the Lodīs (Shāhū Khail) were placed in the right wing, the Farmūlīs and Nūhānīs commanded the left wing, while the Sarwānīs and the officers of the Khāṣā Khail<sup>31</sup> led the rear. 'Umar Khān Sarwānī led the vanguard. He (the Sūltān) was mounted on an elephant to inspect the army. He encouraged everybody. All of a sudden his eyes fell on the fort of Chaund; and he exclaimed: 'Is this the citadel which has turned him (Sūltān Husain) so proud ? Still I forbear, if he does not understand (the reality), it is his fault'. In the meanwhile Sūltān Husain came out of the fort at the head of his army and challenged the (Afghān) vanguard. Shortly after the commencement of the encounter, and after a short contest, Sūltān Husain fled away. Mīran Saiyid Khān and some other persons were brought in all humiliation as prisoners before Sūltān Sīkandar. As Sūltān Sīkandar's eye fell on Mīran (Saiyid Khān), he found him coming bare-headed with turban hanging down from his neck and on foot.

31. The Khāṣā Khail was the name given to the *sawārs* and the officers who belonged to the reserved army under the immediate command of the Sūltān. The medieval chronicles contain references to the Khāṣā Khail soldiers since the times of the Tughluqs. This corps of the khāṣā khail existed till Akbar's reign when it was named as Ahadis. Cf. *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, pp. 111-17, for further details.



The Sūltān turned his face from him, ordering : cover his head with the turban and give him a horse, so that he may ride'. They did accordingly. When he was conducted into the royal presence, the Sūltān said to him: 'May (God's) mercy be upon you. You have truly shown faithfulness. As he (Sūltān Hūsain) is unfortunate (devoid of sense) what can you do ? Set your mind at ease'.

He ordered every one of the nobles of Sūltān Hūsain who had been made a prisoner to be provided with a two storied tent—enclosure, one parasol, a canopy supported on four poles, two horses, ten purses filled with money, a cot and a sleeping suit. When these arrangements were completed, they were allowed to stay in the tents, allotted to them.

Again, I continue the narrative. When the news of Sūltān Hūsain's flight was received, Mūbārak Khān Nuḥānī came forward and sought permission to pursue him. The Sūltān ordered an inquiry to be made regarding the direction (of his flight). Mūbārak Khān Nuḥānī said: 'My men (deputed for this purpose) have come back with the information about the direction he has taken'. The Sūltān said : 'I have also deputed persons, and you should wait till they return.' Mūbārak Khān said: 'Delay is not good'. The Sūltān answered : 'He has not fled from you, but from the wrath of God; he is the same Sūltān Hūsain who had arrived at Guzar Kutchh (near Karā) and you were overcome (by him). Almighty God has favoured you with victory and made him vanquished; you should be thankful to God. Have patience and do not become boastful and arrogant. As he (Sūltān Hūsain) was full of vanity and pride, he has been driven to this plight. Ask (divine) forgiveness and leave him to God.' Mūbārak Khān bowed down and then kept silent. (Even) in the prime of youth he (Sikandar) had so much forbearance.

The purpose of writing this work is that I may describe certain events that occurred during the reign of Sūltān Sikandar along with the account of certain attainments of



some *Mashā'ikh* (saints) and nobles who were his contemporaries.

In those days, when the Prince was called *Mī'ān Nizām*, he was known for his excellent temperament. He possessed a remarkable personality. Everyone who possessed a heart and looked upon him, had his heart captivated at the very sight ; he never found his rival in beauty.

Verse : Whosoever turned his eyes towards his face  
It's shame if he looks on someone else.

His holiness Shaikh *Hasan*, the grandson of Shaikh *Abū Lālā*, who lies buried in the town of *Rāpri*<sup>32</sup> was captivated by his appearance. One day *Mī'ān Nizām* was sitting in his private chamber that suddenly Shaikh *Hūsan* entered it. The Prince asked why he had come in without permission. Shaikh *Hasan* answered : 'Do you not know why have I come in' ? The Prince said : 'You consider yourself fond of me' ? The Shaikh replied : 'I have got no control in this matter'. The Prince ordered him to move forward; the Shaikh came forward. There was a lighted stove before *Mī'ān Nizām*: he placed his hand on Shaikh *Hasan's* neck, passed it towards the sparkling fire and then pressed it hard. The Shaikh himself placed his head on the fire and did not make the slightest movement. In the meantime *Mūbārak Khān Nūhānī* entered (the chamber). When he saw (them), he asked who that person was. The Prince replied that it was Shaikh *Hasan*. *Mūbārak Khān* said: 'O man who fearest not God, what are you doing ? Neither fire burns people of this class, nor water does harm to them. You have done harm to yourself. What can you do against them' ? The Prince said: 'He calls himself my lover'. The *Khān* said : 'you ought to be thankful that you have become the beloved of a saint. If you desire to obtain felicity in this world and the next, you should serve him'. Then he held the hand of *Mī'ān Nizām* and raised up the head of the Shaikh from the fire. They found that the hairs of the Shaikh had not caught fire at all.

32. It was an important *iqta'* during the *Sūltānate* period. It is now included in the district of *Mainpuri* (U.P.).



After it the Prince ordered the Shaikh to be placed in chain with neck, hands and feet (tied) and had him cast into a room that was locked up. Sometime afterwards people came from the bazar and informed the Prince that Shaikh Hasan was dancing there (in the bazar). The Prince ordered him to be arrested and brought (before him). When he was brought to him, he said to him : 'You call yourself my lover'. Why did you escape from my prison ?' The Shaikh answered: 'I did not go out of my own accord; my grandfather, Shaikh Abu Lālā led me forth by the hand.' Actually, the room had remained bolted and locked when the Shaikh was dancing in the bazar. Thenceforth, the Prince did not treat Shaikh Hasan with disrespect.

Besides, one may guess about his (Sūltān Sikandar's) remarkable wisdom and intelligence from this (following fact). When Sūltān Bahlūl passed away, all the nobles and grandness of the empire invited Mī'ān Nizām for enthronement. As he decided to leave Delhi, he first went for a farewell call, to His holiness Shaikh Sāmā'ud'din, taking a work on prosody with him.<sup>33</sup> He did not inform the Shaikh of his real purpose. Having made salutation, he respectfully sat down, and requested him to teach him the (first) lesson. The Shaikh recited the *Fātiḥā* and started reciting the verse from the Quran. The Shaikh having read out the *Fatiha* chapter (in the Quran) up to the last, explained its meaning, i.e. 'May God render you fortunate in both the words'. Thereupon Mī'ān Nizām requested him to repeat it. The Shaikh had to do so three times successively (at his instance). After it the Prince placed the book under his armpit and asked for (the saint's) leave. He also told him about his invitation by the nobles for enthronement. Then he kissed the ground and departed.

33. He was one of the leading Sūhrāwardī saints who flourished during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. His son-in-law and *Khalifāh* (successor), Shaikh Jamālī Kambo was the father of Shaikh Gadā'i Kambo, the *ṣadr* of Akbar during the period of Bairam Khān Khān-i Khānān's regency. Cf. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, *Mughal Relations with the Indian Ruling Elite*, New Delhi, 1984, New-Delhi, 1984.



It should be known that his justice to weak (or poor) persons was so famous that no master could oppress his slaves. The *Vakil* of *Dariyā Khān* (*Nūhānī*) had to remain on the *chaubūtra* (Public hall of justice) daily until the first watch of night for receiving petitions (from the supplicants). The *Qādis* and '*ulamā*', well-versed in *shariā*' law, twelve in number, were present in the royal court for issuing decree in consonance with the divine law ; whatever case was brought to the *chaubūtra* of the *Diwān-i-Wizārat*<sup>34</sup>, it had to be referred to these '*ulamā*'. When the issue was settled in accordance with the *shariā*' law, the decree was written down accordingly and it was also reported to his Majesty. Slave boys were posted for this purpose. Everything that happened in the court of justice was reported to the *Sūltān* from the beginning to the end.

One day, one of the Saiyids of the town of Arval<sup>35</sup> submitted a complaint that *Mī'ān Maliḥ Turk*, the *Wajahdār*<sup>36</sup> of *pargana* had forcibly occupied a small piece of land belonging to him ; and in spite of his repeated requests it had not been restored to him. The *Sūltān* ordered the case to be referred to the *Diwan-i-Wizārat* for investigating the truth. The investigation was carried on for two months, but the dispute could not be decided in spite of all efforts ; the arguments of the rival parties were reported to his Majesty daily. After two months had passed, the *Sūltān* said : 'What is this problem ? You are not able to settle one case. Today you will not leave the place until it is decided'. All of them, the

34. Mushtaqi refers to public building as *chabutra*, though in Urdu it means a raised platform. The *Chabutra-i-Diwan-i-Wizerat* implies a hall adjacent to the Revenue Ministry where the Wazir, *Mī'ān Bhū'ā* decided the legal cases with the help of *ūlams*.
35. During the reign of *Sūltān Firuz Shah*, the *sawārs* and petty officials whom the *Sūltān* assigned villages in lieu of cash salary, were called *Wajahdārs* and their assignment as *Wajah-i-Mā'āsh* as *Afif*, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Firozshāhī* tells us. By the times of the Lodis the important assignees, (called *mūqtā's* earlier) seem to have been officially called *Wajahdārs*. cf. *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, p. 147.
36. It is situated in the district of Gaya in Bihar state.



'ulamā, the Wazīr and Mallīh Tūrk remained there and continued to thoroughly examine the case from the day till the third quarter of the night. All the time, every argument was reported to the Sūltān until the case was decided and the truth discovered. They informed the Sūltān that the Saiyid was oppressed. The Sūltān ordered : 'Malīh should be asked to explain why he disobeyed me. I have ordered that nobody will tyrannise over other, and made it explicitly clear in the *farmāns* to all that (the grant of *iqṭā'*) excludes the *imlāk* and *wa'zāif* (lands)'. Being ashamed, he (Malīh Tūrk) bowed down his head and said : I have committed a wrong'. The Sūltān further ordered him to confess it three times and declare 'Malīh is guilty and a tyrant, and the Saiyid is an oppressed person'. As he did it three times, the Sūltān said : 'This is the punishment for you that you should be disgraced in the court of *shari'a*. His *iqṭā'* was resumed ; and since then he always remained jobless and was thus rendered poor.

On some other day a horse was stolen from the royal stable in the charge of Jalāl the *amir-i-akhūr*.<sup>37</sup> When it was reported to his Majesty, he asked as to whom the horse originally belonged. He was told that it originally belonged to Malīk Nathū Kānsī. He ordered Jalāl to be taken to Mūhammad Zaitūn<sup>38</sup> the *shiqqdār*<sup>39</sup> of Agrā, so that the latter might realise the actual price of the horse from him (Jalāl). On the third day, the thief was caught along with the horse at *Guzar Urdū'ā*, near Dholpūr and brought before the Sūltān, who ordered that it should be inquired from Mūhammad Zaitūn as to whether he had realized the price of horse from Jalāl. Mūhammad Zaitūn was now in a quandry ; if he said that he did not realize the money, he

37. The *amir-i-akhūr* was high officer-in-charge of the royal stable. The royal horses were maintained under his supervision.

38. Mūhammad Zaitun was an Afghan noble and Babur calls him as Mūhammad Zaitun Afghan, the officer-in-charge of Dholpūr.

39. The *Shiqdār* was the officer, charged with the duty of establishing peace and order in the *pargana*. He combined in his person the functions of a military as well as revenue officer. cf. *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, pp. 142-5.



would be ordered to explain the reason for the delay ; and if he said that the amount was realized, he would be guilty of telling a lie. He, however, gave an ambiguous reply that Jalāl had satisfied him on the very first day. The Sūltān said : 'Since Jalāl has already paid the money, the horse should be given over to him. Jalāl sold the horse for ten thousand *tankās* ; he paid four thousand (*tankās*) to Mūḥammad Zaitūn, and kept the remaining six thousand with him.

The thief was kept in prison for three days. On the day of *darbār*, when Khān-i-Khānān Nūḥānī<sup>40</sup> saw the thief, he said : 'Why do you keep the thief alive ? Drag and execute him'. In the meantime, the Sūltān came out and instantly remarked : 'There could be two spots to kill the thief. Either he should have been killed at the place where he had gone to commit theft, (It would have been reasonable). or the one where he was caught with the stolen horse ; and not at my gate which is the *Dar-ul aman* (the place of peace). You have now recovered your horse. Being Muslims it is strange for you to demand that he should be killed at this place'. He ordered the thief to be handed over to Mūḥammad Zaitūn to be kept in prison. It was done accordingly.

It was a custom that the prisoners were set free on the two 'Ids ('*Id-ul-Fiṭr* and '*Id-ul-zuhā*), the tenth of the *Mūḥarram* and the death anniversary of the Prophet. However, this thief remained in prison for seven years. Every time, the custodian read his name along with those of his fellow prisoners in the royal presence, but (somehow) the matter got overlooked. After seven years, the order was issued that if he embraced Islām, he would be released. The thief said : 'If I were ordered to embrace Islām after seven days, I would have done that. I have so far spent seven years in prison, therefore, I embrace Islām of my own'. He was released from the jail and converted to Islām. He was

40. He held the *iqṭā'* of Rāpri in his charge during the reigns of Sūltān Sikandar and Ibrāhīm Lodī. *Tarikh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī*, edited by Imām-ud Din, Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Daccā, p. 232.



circumcised and familiarized with the tenets of Islāmic faith, especially prayer and fasting.

When the Sūltān was informed about his being a good Mussalmān, regular in offering prayer, he was rewarded with a *saropā* (head to foot dress) and fifteen *tankās*. Further, the Sūltān said that if he wanted to leave, he should be given money to meet the travel expenses. He was also given the choice to stay in the royal service. The convert said : 'Where can I go now ? During these seven years that I have spent in prison I have completely forgotten the art of stealing. I have embraced Islām and started to dislike my relatives. Since his Majesty reforms the thieves in this way, I undertake this responsibility that nobody would commit theft during his reign (in Agrā). As regards theft, it is risky, while the thief considers life a good fortune ; he spends away in a day whatever he gains. He does not care for the morrow. When he goes out for theft, he takes the risk of losing his life. Either he loses his life or gains his object. I do not have courage for this evil any longer. Where should I go from this exalted place. Whatever service I can do, I shall do it'.

The Sūltān enquired as to what he could do. He said : 'A few persons should be attached to me (for assistance). I shall sit at the gate of the fort (and see that no theft is committed). I shall be held responsible if it is committed any where in the city'. The proposal was accepted.

Once, a theft took place in the bazai-i-Chahar Su, (Square-Shaped market); the shops of the cloth dealers were broken into, and silk fabric and other goods taken away. The cloth dealers reported the matter to the Sūltān, demanding justice. The Sūltān said that the convert should be asked to account for it as he had undertaken the responsibility for preventing the occurrence of theft. The convert demanded four days for investigation. After three days he submitted : 'the thieves have not come from outside ; they belong to the army. The Meos (people from Mewāt), serving under everyone in the army should be handed over to me, so that I may discover the stolen goods'. Then the Meos were ordered to be handed over to him. In those days every *amīr* and *sawār* had Meos in his service as watchmen. A few



hundred Meos were rounded up. When the thieves were found out amongst them, they started soliciting forgiveness. They requested him not to report their crime to his Majesty and also agreed to pay fine by way of punishment. He persuaded the cloth-dealers to accept the price of their stolen goods and also requested the Sūltān not to be harsh towards the Meos and forgive their crime. He entered into an agreement with the Meos that they would never commit theft in the city again, otherwise they would be put to death. Thereafter, theft was never committed in the cantonment area.

Besides, the intelligence system was so perfect that if someone said something in his own house, it was reported to the Sūltān. It is said that one night when Bhikhan Khān Lodi<sup>41</sup> was sleeping on the roof of his house, it started raining. He carried the cot into his room with the help of his wife as no slave girl or male servant was available. Next morning, when he came to the royal audience and performed his obeisance, (the Sūltān) smilingly remarked: 'There are some among the high nobles, who have to lift their cots themselves because they do not keep any servant with them at night'.

Moreover, the Sūltān despatched two *farmāns* daily to the army, deputed for the frontier vilayets such as Bihār and Chanderī. The first *farmān* was delivered to (the commander in chief) early in the morning to the effect that march should commence from such and such place and so much distance should be covered in a day; the second arrived at about the time of halt, directing the officer to stop and encamp near a particular village. If the army was sent two hundred or even one thousand miles away, then also two *farmāns* were received (by it daily). It is not known as to how the Sūltān managed it.

41. Bhikhan Khān Lodi was the son of Prince 'Ālam Khān, son of Sūltān Bahlūl Lodi. He was the *mūqtā'* of the *sarkār* of Etawāh during the reigns of Sikandar Lodi and Ibrāhīm Lodi. cf. *Some Aspects of Afghān Despotism in India*, p. 36.



### Another Anecdote

When the fort of Rā'isīn was under the occupation of accursed infidels, two men who belonged to the Kurvā caste, left Agrā for Rā'isīn and joined service there. One day they got enough booty in a village, including *Mūzaffarī* (Gujarati coins), coloured cloth (in large quantity) and two precious rubies. One of the brothers said : "We have got so much booty, why should we endure more hardship ; let us go home and live in comfort". The other said : "we are soldiers ; the very first time so much spoils have fallen into our hands, we may be raised in status if we may exert and display courage". The other said : "If you (want to) stay here, then allow me to depart". They divided the spoils between them. Half of the coins, cloth and one ruby was given to this brother (who wanted to return). The other brother handed over his own share too to him, asking him to convey it to his wife (i.e. of the brother who had stayed there).

As he returned home, he made over all his brother's share to his wife, except the ruby. After two years when the other brother returned, and at night he inquired from his wife about the things he had sent through his brother. His wife told him that she got the *Mūzaffarī* coins and cloth, both fine coloured cloth and *Maḥmūdī* (white and thin cotton, manufactured in Malwa). He asked : "Did you get the *Lā'l* ? (*Lā'l* in Persian means ruby while *Lāl* in Hindi means red). She replied : "Yes : I have got the red cloth also". He said : "I mean not red cloth but a ruby". She said : "I do not understand, What do you mean ? He said : "It is ilke the piece of stone shining and red". She said : "I have not seen it". It was difficult for him to believe it. He said : "Dont lie to me ? She swore that she had never seen the ruby. The houses of both the brothers were adjacent. He called his brother and asked : "Why did you give everything to my wife but not the ruby". He answered : "I gave that also to your wife. Threaten her to make her confess. Perhaps, she had hidden it. Women are in the habit of hiding precious things from their husbands. You have returned after many years, you should not trust her. She might have given it to someone else. Keep your eyes open".



The husband threatened his wife. Being convinced that her husband had been deceived by his brother and would beat her, she politely said : 'I have given the ruby to my mother. Do not punish me and give me time for this night. I shall produce it tomorrow morning'. Early in the morning she sought permission to go to her mother. When she was permitted, she went to Mī'ān Bhū'ā<sup>42</sup> in the *Diwān (-i-Wizarat)* instead and demanded justice. Mī'ān Bhū'ā asked the man (on duty) to find out who was the supplicant. When informed about the woman, the Mī'ān asked his man to solve her problem amicably. When the man inquired from her about her problem, she said : 'I shall tell my problem to Mī'ān Bhū'ā alone'. She was brought before Mī'ān Bhū'ā. She said to him : 'My husband is oppressing me without any justification for no fault has been committed by me'. The Mī'ān asked the reason. She said : 'The brother of my husband has levelled a false charge against me. Both the brothers were away on service. After sometime, he returned home and whatever my husband had handed over to him for me, he made it over to me except a ruby, called *Lāl*. At that time he did not even mention it to me. On his return, my husband asked me whether I had got all that he sent through his brother. I said : 'Yes : I received it'. Then he inquired about the number (of all articles). I told him about every thing. He asked if his brother had not given the ruby to me. I said : 'I have not even seen the ruby and did not know what was that'. Then he asked his brother who lied and said that he had handed it over to me'. Mī'ān Bhū'ā summoned both the brothers to the court and questioned them. The husband's brother repeated the same thing : 'I handed it over to this women'. Mī'ān Bhū'ā asked : 'Have you got any witness' ? He replied: Yes : 'I have got witnesses.' When ordered to produce them, he went to the gambling house and contacted two indigent gamblers. He said to them : 'I

42. He was Sūltān Sikandar Lodi's *Wazir*. On Sikandar's death, he failed to retain Ibrāhīm Lodi's confidence and was thrown into prison for certain reasons. His eldest son, Dilāwar Khān was appointed as the *Wazir* in his place. cf. *Some Aspects of Afghān Despotism in Indiā* p. 42.



have got some easy work. If you do it, I shall pay you three *tankās*'. They asked : 'What is the work' ? He said : 'You have to bear testimony before Mī'ān Bhū'ā'. They said : 'We shall do whatever you ask us to do, and go wherever you take us'. He brought them to his house and arranged for their bath. He dressed them in clean garments, put Brahmennical thread (round their neck), applied paste to their chests and foreheads and gave them betel leaves to chew. When they were ready, he took them to the court.

Mī'ān Bhū'ā questioned them and they mentioned in detail whatever they had been tutored, that the *Mūzaffaris* and cloth were divided into two parts and one ruby was placed on each part. The Mī'ān heard their evidence and then said to the husband of the woman : 'Go and get the ruby from your wife in any manner that you like' ? The woman made all possible efforts to convince the Mī'ān of her innocence, but he did not pay any heed to her. The brothers and the women returned home. The husband of the woman decided to chastise her but she pleaded, before he could start beating : 'Do not beat me at this time. If you do not desist, I shall commit suicide, and it will bring shame to you and me as well. Have patience and don't be harsh. I have hidden the ruby at a place and I shall bring it and make it to you (in the morning)'.

Before it was dawn, she ran away from her home to the audience hall of the Sūltān and prayed there for justice. When the Sūltān came to know of her, he ordered the servant to inquire from the woman what was her grievance. She explained her case, and the Sūltān was informed about it. The Sūltān asked her : 'Did you go to Mī'ān Bhū'ā.' She replied : 'First I went to Mī'ān Bhū'ā but he failed to investigate the truth. Now I have appeared before your Majesty. If justice is not done to me, my husband will do injury to me and I shall commit suicide and I consider it better to do it here'. The Sūltān ordered both the brothers be brought before him. When they were produced, Mī'ān Bhū'ā also arrived. The Sūltān turned to (Mī'ān Bhū'ā) and said : 'How have you inquired into the case of this woman' ? The Mī'ān



answered : 'He produced two witnesses and I settled the dispute on the basis of their evidence'. The Sūltān ordered the witnesses also to be produced. Again, the brother of the husband went to the gambling house and hired the same persons on the payment of two *tankas* each. Having dressed them in the same way as he had done previously, he produced them before the Sūltān. When the Sūltān's eye fell on them, he said : 'Both of them are gamblers. He must have brought them by paying them three or four *tankas*'. The Mī'ān said : 'Apparently, they seem to be dependable, the actual position, I do not know'. The Sūltān said 'That too shall not remain a secret'.

The Sūltān ordered them to be confined to separate rooms. It was done accordingly. First, the Sūltān called the husband of the woman and got a piece of wax before his arrival. When he arrived, the Sūltān said to him, 'Take a bit of wax and "mould it in the form and the size of the ruby that you had sent.' He moulded it accordingly and presented it to the Sūltān. The Sūltān ordered him to go back and conceal the duplicate made of wax under a cloth. Then he summoned the brother and ordered him also to mould the wax into the form of the ruby. He also copied the shape of the original. The wax-models made by (the two brothers) were similar to each other. He also was sent back. After this, one of the witnesses was called and asked to make wax-model of the ruby that he had seen. He modelled on the basis of his imagination. The second witness also produced a different model. (These different models were preserved). The woman was then summoned and asked to make a (wax) model of the ruby. She said : 'How can I produce the shape of the thing which I have never seen'. She was asked repeatedly to do it but every time she refused. She was then allowed to go. Thereafter, the Sūltān called all the four men together and said : 'Have all of you seen the ruby with your own eyes' ? The brothers said : 'It belonged to us and we know it well'. The witnesses were also asked the same question. They replied : 'We cannot give false evidence about an unseen thing'. The woman was (again called) and asked the same question. Again, she



repeated the same answer : 'I have never seen it'. Thereupon the Sultān brought out the models and showed them to Mī'ān Bhū'ā saying : 'Is this how you administer justice. For no rhyme or reason you hold this innocent woman as a thief'. The Sultān then declared the brother (who had levelled the charge of theft against the woman) as guilty, and said to him : 'If you give back the ruby and remain honest in future, I shall pardon your sin, otherwise I shall kill you'. He confessed his guilt and promised to return the ruby to his brother. Then the Sultān turned towards the witnesses and said : How could you dare to bear false testimony in my presence'. They said : We are gamblers. We are hungry and without betel leaves. First time, he brought us (to the Court) by paying three *tankās*. He also gave us these garments. We took it all (as) a blessing'. When we have nothing to eat, we enter the bazar and inflict wounds on our bodies and thus make people take pity upon us and get food like this. We are constrained to do such things'. The Sultān ordered ; 'Their faces should be rubbed on the ground so much that the lips of these worthless persons may get swollen, so that others may learn a lesson and refrain from doing such things'.

At another time a boat was drowned in the river Jamūnā with many persons and their goods. One of the persons (who could escape) had one thousand and five hundred gold coins in his bag but that also had fallen in the river. He said to the boatmen that if anyone brought it out, he would pay him one hundred gold coins. Nobody accepted his offer. (However,) one of the boatmen said : 'I shall keep the major portion with me and give you as much as I may like to part with. If you accept this condition, I may try'. He said out of helplessness, 'I agree'. Thereupon, the boatmen dived into the river several times. After sometime, the boatman found the bag. He made its owner renew his offer and agreement. Then he came out with the bag and placed it before the owner. The owner changed his mind and said : 'I shall give you one hundred gold coins as I had told you'. The boatman said: 'Since you have violated the agreement, I shall



throw the bag again in the river. As my labour has been wasted, your gold should also be lost'.

When the dispute could not be settled easily, they went to the *chabutra* of the *Wazir*. They related the whole matter in the court. A few days passed but the *wazir* was not able to decide the case. According to the custom, the *Sūltān* was informed about the daily proceedings of the Court of his *Wazir*. After a few days the *Sūltān* summoned both the persons along with the bag to his court, and inquired : 'What was the agreement between you' ? The owner of the bag said : 'I shall give him hundred gold coins which I had promised'. The *Sūltān* ordered him to take out hundred gold coins and place them separately. Thereafter, he called the boatman and asked him what was agreed upon by him and the owner of the bag. The boatman answered : 'I did not agree to the amount that he had suggested. He then accepted my condition. Only after that I entered the river, but no sooner had I brought the bag out than he violated his pledge'. The *Sūltān* asked what his condition was. He said : 'He accepted my condition that I shall give him back whatever I may like'. The *Sūltān* said : He has divided the coins into two parts. One part comprises one hundred gold coins while the other contains one thousand and four hundred ; accept any one as you may choose'. He said : I like to keep one thousand and four hundred with me and give the rest, one hundred *mohurs*<sup>43</sup> (coin) to him'. The *Sūltān* asked : 'Why do you go back upon your words'. He said : 'How do I'. The *Sūltān* said that you would give him whatever pleases you. Now one thousand and four hundred *mohurs* please you, you should therefore give them to him'. He gave this verdict and the dispute was thus settled.

Another person handed over sixty *mohur-i-zar* (gold coins) in a sealed bag to a money-changer (*ṣarrāf*); the bag did not have any stitches. After some time, he came back to the money-changer and after having got his bag, returned home. When he opened the bag, he found something else in place of

43. During the Delhi Sultanate period the gold Coin was called *mohur*. But, during the Mughal period *Mohur* was called *ashrafi*.



his gold coins. He went back to the money-changer and told him that it was not his bag. The money changer said : 'You recognised your bag and examined your seal'. He said : 'The bag and seal are the same but it does not contain the gold coins that I had placed inside'. The money changer asked : 'Was it sealed or unsealed when you deposited it with me ?' 'I entrusted it to your custody sealed, and also recovered it back sealed but when I broke the seal open, I did not find my gold coins'. The money changer said : 'Then what is your complaint ? I am not responsible for anything'.

The owner of the gold coins approached the *chahutra* of the *Wazir* and filed his complaint there. The money-changer was summoned and questioned. This dispute also remained unsettled for long. Again, the Sūltān asked the reason for delay. The *Wazir* replied : 'It is difficult to settle this dispute in the absence of any witness'. The Sūltān ordered the parties to be brought before him. When the parties attended the royal court, the Sūltān questioned each of them separately. First he admonished the owner of the gold coins not to tell the truth. The owner said : 'I have told the officers of the exalted *diwān* (*Wazir's* department) only the truth that the bag I had entrusted to the *saraf* was sealed and intact, but I did not find my gold coins in it. Whatever fraud has been practised, has been practised on contents'. The Sūltān asked the *Ṣarrāf* to tell him the truth. He answered : 'The servant of yours has committed no wrong. I have returned to him intact what he had left with me. He is practising a fraud upon me'. The Sūltān called for the bag to examine it. When the bag was brought to the Sūltān, he allowed them to leave.

(The Sūltān thought out a device to unearth the truth). He ordered the waist-band of his garment, that he had just taken off, to be pulled out, and then had it folded and pierced repeatedly by a dagger. As a result of this many holes were created in the waist-band. Thereafter, it was again put among the garments and handed over to the washerman for cleaning. After two or three days when the washerman took up the royal garments for cleaning, he was embarrassed to see the holes in the waist-band. He feared that he would be



punished for the damage, caused in his house. He took it to a darning. The latter said : 'I cannot mend it. You should go to the darning who lives behind these shops. He is the only person who can darn it nicely'. The washerman went to the darning and said that the waist-band belonged to the king, and that it had got damaged in his house. He should so darn it that the damage should not be detected. The darning demanded one gold coin for darning it. The washerman paid him one gold coin in advance and went away.

The washerman came back to the darning on the fixed day and took the royal waist-band which was neatly darned. Having washed the royal dress, he fixed the waist-band into it, and returned it to the *Jāmādar*.<sup>44</sup> The *Jāmādār* was ordered by the *Sūltān* to show that dress to him as soon as it was returned by the washerman. No hole was found in the waist-band on examination. Therefore, the washerman was summoned and told that it was not the royal waist-band. The washerman said that it was the same. The *Sūltān* said : 'It contained holes; how have they disappeared?' He replied: 'I feared that it was damaged in my house and so I got it darned'. Then he was ordered to bring the darning to the *Sūltān*. When the darning came, the *Sūltān* showed him the waist-band and asked him as to whether he had darned it? The darning replied in affirmative. Then, the *Sūltān* showed him the bag and asked : 'Did you darn this also?' He replied : 'Yes Sir, I have darned this bag'. The *Sūltān* ordered: 'Tear the bag where you had darned it'. He did it accordingly, and was allowed to leave. After his departure, the *Sūltān* called the *Sarraf* and said to him : 'You are the culprit. If you confess your guilt, I shall pardon you, otherwise you will be severely punished'. He showed him the bag and said, 'You had torn it here'. The *Sarraf* confessed his guilt, and surrendered the gold coins to the *Sūltān*. The *Sūltān* placed the gold coins in the bag and having got it repaired (by the same darning), called its owner. He handed it over to him saying: 'It is your bag and contains your gold. The first bag was not yours'. He brought it to

44 The *Jāmādar* was an officer in-charge of the royal wardrobe.



his house and when he opened it, he found his gold to his full satisfaction.

Some of the facts related about him are supernatural. Once a man took his wife along with him and started on a journey from Chanderi, on foot, to a certain place. They walked the whole day as a result of which the woman got blisters on her feet. Next day, the woman walked with difficulty. Suddenly, two horsemen appeared, travelling in the same direction. When they found the woman in a helpless condition, they took pity on her and said to her husband : 'Why are you committing this sin by making this weak woman walk in this way'? He answered : 'What can I do? I cannot afford any thing else'. They offered him their lead horse which they were taking with them on the condition that he would hold its bridle and go on foot. When he suspected their sincerity, they called upon God to bear witness to their pledge. He then agreed, seated his wife on the back of the horse and drove it by holding its bridle in his own hand. As they entered the forest, the riders killed the husband and then one of them seated the woman on his horse and moved on. The woman began to turn her face backward over again. The riders asked her : 'Is there any other man whom you are looking for'? She said : 'Yes ! I am looking for one (God) whom you called upon to bear witness and because of his faith in Him my husband trusted you'. Where is He ? They inquired laughing, and said to her : 'You should give up this hope'. Soon afterwards two *sawārs* holding each other's hand appeared there. Having killed both of the riders, they asked the woman as to where her husband was lying. They went to the spot, and having alighted from the horses, they fixed his head on his neck, placed the sheet on him and rode away. While leaving the place, they said to the woman : 'When we disappear from your eyes, you should remove the sheet from above your husband. Further all these three horses belong to you as a reward'. Even before they had gone out of sight, the man began to breathe again and the sheet started shaking. The woman could not resist herself, she removed the sheet from above her husband and found his head fixed on his



neck and woke him up. When he got up, he inquired from his wife as to where he was, and where had they (the *Sawars*) had gone? She told him as what had happened to him, including the help of the two other *sawārs* who were still within the sight.

The man galloped one of the horse and having approached them, he requested them in God's name to show him their faces, so that he might be blessed. They said: 'We have acted according to the divine order; what else do you expect from us?' He again repeated his request in the name of God and His Prophet, and then they had to raise the veils from their faces. One of them was an old man while the other looked quite young. Having made salutation, the man returned to his wife, and then they resumed their journey. He expressed astonishment at the incident, and proceeded on his way.

Later on, the man came to Agrā. A permanent mark was left on his neck; everyone who saw it, asked about it. He always changed the topic and did not tell the truth. Once the Sūltān came out in procession and people came out to see him from the streets and from the tops of roof. That man too was watching (the Sultan's procession).

According to the custom, *Malik Ādam Kākar*<sup>45</sup> was coming ahead of the Sūltān, shooting arrows at the birds to make them fly away. When the eye of the man fell on the *Malik*, he said out of astonishment: 'How surprising, but I cannot tell you'. People wanted to know but he refused

45. *Malik Ādam Kākar* was one of the highly educated Afghān nobles. Mūshṭāqī's reference to him at another place tends to reveal that he was raised to the highest rank of *Khān* and entrusted with the charge of some important post, usually held by a man of minister's status as he used to take his seat below the royal throne. He held his prominent position during the reign of Sūltān Ibrāhīm Lodī because *Masnad-i-'Ālī Mi'ān Bhū'ā* was left in his custody as a prisoner. The important grandees were kept as prisoners in the custody of the high nobles as it was the custom during the Sūltānate period. Ādam Kākar was buried in Lucknow and his son and grandson looked after his tomb as its *sajjadās*. Both of them were the popular saints of their time. *Tarikh-i-Khanri-Jahani*, ii/818.



to disclose any thing. In the meantime, the Sultān arrived, and then the man said : 'This is even more astonishing'. Now his friends forced him to tell what he meant by his remarks. He related : 'The mark that you see on my neck, was caused by two highwaymen. Then he told them the entire story and said : 'Today I recognise the two riders who had come there under veils to my rescue. The rider who happened to be an aged man was (Malik) Ādam and the young rider was Sultān Sikandar himself'.

An other anecdote : When Qūṭb-i-'Ālam Saiyid-ul Sādāt, Haḍrat Shaikh Hājl 'Abdūl Wahāb returned from Meccā after performing the *hajj* (pilgrimage) the Sultān told Mi'ān Shaikh Lādan Dānishmond in Agrā : 'Today Haḍrat Shaikh Hāji (Abdūl Wahāb) has got down from the ship'. The M'lān noted down the day. When the Hājl came back, the Sultān's statement was found correct.

Next : When *Masnad-i-'āli* (exalted lordship) 'Āzam Hūmāyūn Sarwānī marched against the *vilayet* of Bhattā<sup>46</sup>, no information was received about his whereabouts for seventy days. After the seventieth day, Faṭḥ Khān, son of 'Āzam Hūmāyūn (Sarwānī) was asked to tell whether he had received any news from his father. He told the Sultān that he had not received any message from his father since long. Then the Sultān informed him, 'I know that he has turned back from Prāg (Allāhabad) today and will reach his *vilayet* (Karā) in a few days'. He also sent a few lac *tankas* to Faṭḥ Khān's house with the message : 'I had made a vow that I would distribute (this) amount among the needy people. As I have got the information (about 'Āzam Hūmāyūn's safety), I am sending it (to you) for distribution among the beggars. You distribute it to them.' One lac *tankās* more were dis-

46. The region of modern Rewā in Madhya Pradesh was called Bhattā during the Lodi times. It is mentioned as Bath-Ghorāh in the 'Ain-i-Akbarī. The rulers of Bhattā were Rājputs and known as Baghelas. The early history of this dynasty is obscure and some information about it can be had on the basis of a Sanskrit work 'Virbhanudaya Kavya'. It deals with the achievements of the member of the ruling dynasty from the beginning till the time of Raja Virabhadra, son and successor of Rama Chandra Deva, a contemporary of Emperor Akbar.



tributed to the beggars at the gate of the Sūltān's palace. After a few days, the letter of 'Āzam Hūmāyūn was received to the effect that he had reached up to such and such place, and turned back after he had conquered the *vilayet*. Thus, whatever the Sūltān had said, was proved to be true.

Some strange events occurred during the reign of Sūltān Sīkandar : In Jaunpūr, a certain person got married and took his bride to his house in Zafarābād.<sup>47</sup> He stopped the palanquin under a tree outside the city for rest and for taking food. He took his seat near the palanquin and the bride put aside the curtain to look around. The maid-servant (who accompanied the bride to look after her) was also there. A recluse who was taking rest under the same tree cast his eye on the beautiful face of the (newly married) girl and was completely captivated. He fixed his eyes on her face. Every time the girl looked at him, she found him as if in a trance and constantly staring at her face. She guessed his condition and was surprised. She inquired from the nurse : 'When shall we return to this place ? She said : 'We shall come back after four days'. The girl said : 'When we come to this tree on our return, remind me (about it), so that we may again stop here for a while.' After sometime they moved on.

After four days, the recluse continued to wait for her the whole day. At the time of sunset, he got disappointed and began to sigh : 'Ah, Ah, she has not come back', and passed away in this state. When the Muslims found him dead, they buried him after performing religious rites. The palanquin of the girl arrived in the evening just after his burial. The nurse reminded her about the tree and the palanquin was placed nearby. As she did not find the recluse there, she

47. It is now a town in the district of Jaunpūr in U. P. Zafarabad rose into prominence during the Sultanate period and remained the provincial headquarters of an extensive *vilayet* till the founding of the city of Jaunpūr by Firoz Shāh. It lost its importance after the foundation of Jaunpūr as the Vilayet of Zafarabad was renamed as the *shiqq* of Jaunpūr and the governor was required to shift from Zafarabad to Jaunpūr. cf. *Evolution of the Vilayet, the Shiqq and the Sarkar During the Sultanate Period*, Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh, 1963.



said to her nurse : 'I had made a vow that whenever I would return, I should offer something to the recluse, but I do not find him here. Inquire about him from some person.' The nurse asked some persons about the recluse. They told her that he suddenly died, and pointed to his grave on a little distance. She further enquired as to how he died. They said: he only repeated (sighing) : 'Ah, Ah; she has not turned up and at last passed away.' Being deeply moved, she said to the nurse, show me the grave of the recluse, so that I may visit and offer prayer (*Fātiḥā*), for the departed soul.'

People created a curtain of sheets on all sides, so that she might visit the grave without exposing her face to people. When she visited the grave, she placed her head upon it. After sometime, the nurse thought to call her back. When she looked for her inside the sheets, she did not find her there. She told people about it and everyone of them was surprised; they considered it a miracle of '*Ishq* (true love). They unearthed the grave and found to their surprise the dead body of the recluse, wrapped with embroidered garments of the bride, garlands of flowers in his neck, and his hands and feet dyed with henna. But there was no trace of the bride. They felt astonished to see this scene, and departed from that place.

(*Other anecdote*) : Once when the army was deputed for Chanderī by Sūltān Sikandar, one of the soldiers entered a temple in the town of Udaipur,<sup>47</sup> and visited the idols there. There was a beautiful and nicely chiseled female idol to which the soldier took fancy. Having remained standing before it for four days, he started on his journey.

On his departure, the custodians found the idol missing. They suspected the soldier and went out to catch hold of him. When they overtook him, they found the idol under his arm-pit. They brought him before the '*āmil* of the place and reported that he was the thief of the idol. That he first

47. Here Mushtaqi seems to have confused some other place with Udaipur, for the city of Udaipur was founded much later during the times of Rana Uday Singh. As a matter of fact this is a fantastic story, largely based on hearsay.



removed the idol from stone-frame and then took it away. When the officer questioned him, he said : 'I did not remove the idol from its place. These people remain in the temple day and night, if I had tried to dig it out from the stone, they would have come to know of it. This idol came under my armpit by itself; and, therefore, I left the temple along with it.' The *'amil* threw him into prison, and gave the idol back to the custodians of the temple. They refixed it in its old place.

Next morning, they again found the idol missing. This time also they found it under the armpit of the soldier. They told the *'amil* that they had reinstalled it in its former place, but again somebody had brought it to the same person. When he was questioned, he repeated the same thing: 'No body has brought it to me. It has come to me by itself.' The *diwān* (*'amil*) decided to keep the idol with himself. He locked it in a chest, and, in spite of it (being locked) the idol was found with the same man next day. The in charge of the place set the man free and gave him the idol along with some other reward.

Another anecdote : A Nūhānī Afghān got married in Ghazīpur<sup>48</sup> and started with his wife for his house after the marriage ceremony was over. Upon reaching the river, he ordered all the persons to vacate the boat and then got the palanquin of his wife placed in it. Only a recluse was left sitting below the seat in the corner. As the boat was being rowed, the bride said to the maid-servant : 'Neither I have seen the Ganges nor the boat being sailed upon in it. As there is no body present, could I remove the curtain and have a look at the boat and the river.' The maid said : 'There is nobody except a beggar, who is sitting in the corner.' She removed the curtain before her and looked around. All of a sudden her eyes fell on the indigent person and she found him staring at her. Every time she looked at him, she found the recluse staring at her. She understood the state of his mind. She stretched her foot and placed it on the edge of the boat.

48. It is a district headquarter in eastern Uttar Pradesh and still contains the ruins of medieval monuments.



The maid asked her not to move her foot lest her shoe should fall into the water. She said : 'Is there anybody who may bring it out if it falls into the water, and then looked at the recluse. He nodded his head in the affirmative. She at once plunged her foot into the water (and the shoe fell down). Upon that the recluse also jumped into the water. Even after a long time had passed, he did not come out, the (newly-wed) girl felt ashamed of her act and was also seized overpowered by the feeling of love. Suddenly, she also plunged into the river. It caused commotion all around. People threw nets in the river and brought both of them out of the water. They were holding each other in their arms. The recluse had her shoe in one arm while his other arm was placed round her neck. People were surprised by this incident. When Naṣīr Khān Nuḥānī (the Mūqtā' of Ghazlpūr) got information of this incident, he rode to the spot. When he saw their dead bodies, he ordered that their bodies should not be separated from each other, but be covered and buried together in the same grave. People said : 'It is not right to bury two corpses in one grave.' At last it was decided that they should be buried separately but the graves must be adjacent to each other. It was done accordingly.

After night fall as the darkness prevailed, the relatives of the girl decided to unearth her grave and take her body to their ancestral graveyard for burial. When they opened the grave, they did not find her body inside it. Then they opened the grave of the recluse and found both of the bodies there. Feeling terrified, they ran away.

**Another anecdote:** A student reached Bhogāon<sup>49</sup> in course of his journey. Being thirsty, he went to the well and found

49. It was an important *parganā* headquarters during the medieval times. It was a stronghold of Rai Pratap, the Rajput chief during the reign of Sūltān Bahlūl. As the Rai frequently changed sides during the long-drawn conflict between the Lodis and the Sharqīs, Rai Pratap disappeared with the destruction of the Sharqī power. Towards the close of Bahlūl's reign, Bhogā'on formed the part of the large *iqṭā'* of 'Isā Khān, son of Tātār Khān Yūsuf Khail. The other *parganas* included in the *iqṭā'* were those of Sākit and Patiali. However, Bhogā'on is included in the district of Mainpūrī while Sākit is in the district of Etah, lying between the towns of Kampil and Rāpri. Patī'ālī is also in the Etah district in U.P.



a beautiful girl drawing water. He saw her and was captivated by her at the very first sight. Although, other women offered him water to drink, he insisted on taking it from her hands. Her companions said to the girl: 'He is a traveller. Be kind to him.' On their advice she agreed to give him water and the student took his hands to his mouth to drink water. The girl poured water upon his hands from her bucket. As he continued to stare at her face, the water fell down and he could not drink. The girl got irritated, she threw away the remaining water from her bucket and turned away her face in anger. Again, other girls offered him water but he said: 'I shall take water only from her hands, otherwise not, and I will die'. The girls said to their companion: 'We offer him water but he refuses to accept it; he will accept water from your hands only.' She said: 'If I ask him to leap into the well, will he do it?' No sooner he heard these words than he leapt into the well. It caused uproar among the girls. They said to her: 'What have you done? You are responsible for his death.' She felt ashamed and also jumped into the well. People reported the matter to the *Shiqqdār*<sup>50</sup> who reached the spot along with the relatives of the girl and others.

The nets were thrown into the well and both of them were brought out. They were found holding each other by hand. The relatives of the girl wished to cremate her body but the *shiqqdār* differed from them, saying: 'She has died for the sake of a Musalmān. They have been brought out together, therefore, it is not proper for you to cremate her body.' It was ultimately decided that she should be buried near the grave of the student, and the order of the *shiqqdār* was carried out.

At night the relatives of the girl decided to open the grave and take out her body for cremation. When they

50. The *Shiqqdār* was officer-in-charge of the *parganā* administration, combining in himself the functions of a military as well as a Civil officer. Some of the *Shiqqdārs*, posted in the important cities under *Khalsā* administration were high nobles. Cf. *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, pp. 140-6, for details.



opened her grave, they did not find her body. They examined the grave and found a passage between the two graves; a candle was also burning and the boy and the girl both were sitting on a cot. When they saw this scene, they closed the grave (and went away), the story gained currency, and many people know of it.

**Another anecdote:** A certain man stayed as a guest in the house of a gardener in one of the villages attached to Bhānder<sup>51</sup> (*pargānā*). It is the custom among the villagers that water and *chauki* (wooden seat) are brought by the woman of the house for washing the hands and feet of the guest. Accordingly, the wife of the gardener brought both the things for the guest. He looked at her with affection. She also understood his feeling (towards her), since meal was ready, she fed him. He was, however, captivated by her. He spent two or three days at the place and then went away.

On his return (to the same village) after a long time he went to the same house. The woman (who had served him previously) had (meanwhile) died. She had been cremated and her bones ashes had been put in a vessel and kept on a rope hanger. Therefore, another woman brought water and the *chauki* to him. As the woman (whom he loved) did not turn up, he sat there for a while and then started looking around. When he did not find her anywhere, he asked somebody about her, and was told that she was dead. The man also pointed to the rope hanger upon which her bones ashes were put in a vessel. Thereupon, he raised his head and casting a glance on the hanger, he fell unconscious, such is the impact of love.

In those days, people were sincere in their love; the time was good. Today neither love nor time is sincere; such people have passed away. It is the good fortune of the people to have a good ruler. Verse :

You have the ruler as you deserve  
People whose virtues are liked by God  
He sends virtuous rulers for them ;  
When he is not happy with people  
He places them under a tyrant.

51. The *Parganā* of Bhandar is now in the district of Jhānsī in U.P.



**Another Anecdote :** One day a marriage party of the Hindus was passing through a village in the *vilayet* of Sarwār.<sup>52</sup> There was a big lake near the village. The young man, (who was to get married) told his companions that as water was available at the place, he would like to stay awhile and ease himself. He asked his companions to move on. But a Brahman stayed to keep company with him. After he had eased himself, he went to the lake for washing. Some young girls were taking bath in the lake, and their clothes were placed on its bank. The young man saw a snake coming from the forest and creeping into the clothes of one of the girls. He said to them: Beware : 'A snake has crept into your clothes. You should put on your clothes carefully.' The girls hurriedly came out, put on their clothes and went back to their houses. The girl under whose clothes the snake had crept in, stood naked in the lake, weeping. Taking pity on her, the young man promised to help her. He held a stick, and when he tried to pick up her clothes with it, the snake suddenly bit him in his hand and slipped away into the forest. The girl put on her clothes and went home.

Having heard about the bridegroom being bitten by a snake, the marriage party returned to the spot and sent for some snake charmer in the village. But the young man died before the arrival of the snake charmer. His relatives started crying. When the girl heard about his death by snake-bite, she put *sindūr*<sup>53</sup> on the parting of her hair and ran from her home, saying: "*Jai Rām, Jai Rām* (victory to Rām)". She came to the dead body, placed his head in her lap and said : 'He has sacrificed his life for my sake. I shall burn myself along with his corpse.' The mother and the father of the girl tried to dissuade her, but she refused to listen to them. At last the parents of both, the young man and the girl, agreed and allowed her (to perform *sati*). The parents also decided to spend whatever money they had kept for meeting

52. The *sarkār* of Gorakhpur was called as *vilayet-i-Sarwār* during the Lodi period. Bābur also calls it *sarwār*.

53. It is a powder, red in colour which is used by the married Hindu women.



the expenses of their (respective), child's marriage, on constructing a rest house in their memory.

**Another Anecdote :** During (Sūltān Sikandar's) reign, if a hidden treasure was discovered anywhere, the state did not claim it;<sup>54</sup> whosoever found it, was allowed to keep it. (It is said) that in the *khitta* (territory) of Sambhal a person was digging his land and in course of it found a vintner's furnace. He found five thousand gold coins in it. Mī'ān Qāsim,<sup>55</sup> the 'āmil of Sambhal got information about it. He took possession of the treasure and informed the Sūltān about it. The Sūltān ordered (the *mūqtā*) to return the treasure to the man who had found it. Upon it Mī'ān Qāsim represented that he was not worthy of such a treasure. But the Sūltān did not agree, he sent the *farmān* to him to the effect: 'O fool: He who has given it to him would not have done so had he been unworthy of it: all (of us) belong to Him, and He (alone) knows who is worthy and who is not worthy'.

Once, a *muzar'ī* (a tenant peasant) who was ploughing a field in Ajodhan, belonging to his holiness Shaikh Muḥammad, by chance discovered a large stone, obstructing the plough. He gave up ploughing the field, went to His Holiness and informed him about the matter. The Shaikh sent some persons to inquire about it. On digging up the earth, they found the stone, raised it, and discovered a well beneath it. They covered it again with the same stone and went back to report the matter to the Shaikh. The Shaikh rode to the spot, and there he ordered the stone to be removed. Beneath the stone the well was found full of treasure. The Shaikh carried the treasure to his house. The treasure seemed lying

54. What Mushtaqi implies here is that previously the buried treasures of ancient times belonged to the State but Sūltān Sikandar Lodi discontinued this rule out of his liberality.

55. Mī'ān Qāsim was the *Mūqtā'* of the *sarkār* of Sambhal and he continued to retain his position till the fall of the Lodi Empire (1526). Babur deputed Shaikh Ghuran along with the Mughal officers to take over the charge of Sambhal from Mī'ān Qāsim. Cf. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, *Mughal Relations with the Indian Ruling Elite*, New Delhi, 1984.



buried since the times of Sikandar Zulqarnain.<sup>56</sup> Some of the gold medals bore the seal of (Sikandar) Zulqarnain.

'Ali Khan Lodi, the *mūqtā'* of Dīpālpur,<sup>57</sup> having got the information about the treasure, went to his holiness, the Shaikh and said: 'This *vilayet* is in my charge and as such any hidden treasure (found) belongs to me.' The Shaikh replied: 'If Almighty God had given it to you, I would not have made any claim; as it has been bestowed upon me, no portion of it belongs to you.' 'Ali Khān wrote to the Sultān that a royal treasure had been discovered on the lands of Shaikh Mūhammad. The Sultān ordered, "How does it concern you, that you are interfering in the matter?"

The Shaikh also sent one of his men with some of the gold medals, bearing the seal of Zulqarnain, and a detailed list, prepared by himself about the articles found in the well. He also sought royal order as to what he should do with it. The Sultān ordered, "Keep all of it to yourself. I too have to present an account (of my deeds before God). So have you too (to render your account). The kingdom belongs to God."

**Anecdote:** 'I heard from his holiness Mi'ān Shams-u'd Din that there was a person who confined himself to the cell (in the mosque) on the 20th of the month of Shaban for '*ihtikāf*' (Solitary vigil). He remained confined there for forty days and had the doors closed with mud. He spent forty days without taking food and water. When he came out on the day of '*Id*', he was as healthy as before. Mi'ān Shame-ud' Dīn went to see him and found him an uncouth villager. He asked him: 'Apparently you do not seem to

56. Generally the Indo-Persian writers call Alexandar the Great as Sikandar Zulqarnain.

57. Ali Khān Lodi was the *muqta* of Dipalpur during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. He seems to have remained loyal to Sultan Ibrāhim Lodi even when most of the Afghan nobles, posted in the trans-Sutlej territories of the Punjab had entered into alliance with Bābur against their own ruler. Babur defeated the garrison at Dipalpur and gave the city to plunder in 1523. Ali Khān Lodi seems to have been killed in the encounter against the Mughals, *Lataif-i Quddusi*, Shaikh Rukn-ud Dīn, Mujtabai Press, p. 64; Also *Baburnama*, ii/451-3.



possess this spiritual power; what is it that enabled you to perform this act ?' He replied : "Once I went to pay a visit to the tomb of Hadrat *Qūtb-i-'Alm* (Shaikh *Qūtb-ud'Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī*). His holiness, Shaikh Ahmad was present there. It was the month of *Shābān*, and he was allotting cells to the *Sufis*. He held the hand of each Sufi and made him sit in a cell. I was standing in the crowd and looking at him. He placed his auspicious hand upon my neck and said : You sit in this cell".

I felt moved at the very moment, and entered the cell. I remained there for forty days without food and water, I felt no need of any thing. There was prepared a list of the *Sufis* (confined to the cells for *iḥtikāf*) and everyone was provided (with necessary food, etc.) according to it. Since my name was not entered in the list, nor had anybody any knowledge about me, I too was oblivious of any requirements. Since then I am possessed of the same spirit whenever this day (in the month of *Shā'bān*) occurs and I feel his (the Pir's) auspicious hand placed on my neck. With this help I spend forty days without taking any thing (in '*iḥtikāf*').

**Anecdote:** The servant (author) has seen it with his own eyes that there was a man in the camp of *Malik Alāhdīn Jilwani* who passed neither urine nor stool for sixteen years. Yet whatever food and drink was brought to him, he took it with great pleasure. When, I wanted to know the reason, he said: 'I was having a walk on the bank of the river where I came across a *dervish* (recluse) whom I served for a long time. I never found him having motion. I inquired out of curiosity. 'I have never seen you attending to the call of nature (passing urine and stool). He said: 'Do you desire to possess the same quality ?' I said : 'If it is possible, I shall feel fortunate". He said : 'You will also possess it.' Since then I do not have any need for such things. The dervish did not have it for twenty-four years and I also have not have it for sixteen years".

Many people attended on him and watched him carefully but none could ever find him having motion. Although he was given different coarse and heavy diets, such as milk,



gram and *urad* to eat, yet he always remained unaffected (i.e. did not have any motion, or pass urine).

**Other Anecdote :** There was a very poor student in Jaunpūr. Once he and his dependants could not get anything to eat for three days. Driven to straits, his dependants asked him to go somewhere else and try his luck, as they could not bear hardship any longer. On the fourth day, the student left his house and started on a journey. Outside the city he found a field of green gram and there he began to ponder : 'Though it is unlaful to tamper with the property of another person, yet it is permissible for me because I have not even smelt food for four days. I may not eat it myself but I could carry some of it for my dependants'. He, then however, entered the field to pluck some of the saplings, but before he could do so, a saintly person, who was sitting on the bank of a tank nearby, shouted : 'O Godless fellow : Why do you deprive an other person of his right ?' He answered : You eat by begging for food. What do you know about my condition, and the circumstances under which I have been forced to do it ?' He asked him ; 'Come to me and tell me your condition.' The student went to him and found him bare-headed and without shoes : covering his body with a loin-cloth in conformity with the (law of) *Shariā*. There was placed an empty bag before him. He inquired from the student. 'Would you eat any thing ?' He said : 'Yes ; Why not.' The saint put his hand into the bag and took out ten *tankās* (stamped with Sūltān Sikandar Lodi's seal) and giving them to the student, said : 'Go, buy floor, oil, meat and whatever is required for cooking.' The student asked whether he should bring cooked food. The saint replied : 'No ; you bring raw things, I shall cook them here.'

He went away and brought every thing, suggested by the saint. The saint took out the knife and a piece of wood from the bag and handed them over to the student, for mincing the meat. Thereafter he handed over a pot, plates, and sheet of cloth along with iron tools for preparing an oven. In short, he took out every thing, required in the process, including fuel (dry wood) from the bag. When the



food was cooked, he placed it in plates and then both of them ate it. Having finished his meal, the saint stood, placed the empty bag on his shoulder and moved on. The student thought that he should carry the food that was left there to his hungry dependants. But the *dervish* asked him to leave the food there and accompany him. They travelled all the day long. Next day they cooked food in the same way and ate it. Now the student felt that he was eating food for two days without knowing anything about his dependants who had been left by him without anything to eat. The saint perceived his worry through his inner light and said to him : 'Do you want to go back to your house.' He replied : 'Yes' ! The saint took out ten *tankās* and gave them to him, permitting him to return. As he was to depart, again the saint stopped him and said : 'I shall teach you something that may benefit you in life. You make ablution and offer *do-rakāt* namāz (prayer in which the devotee bows and prostrates two times).' When he had offered his prayer, the saint asked him to sit down and shut his eyes. (He did accordingly). Being permitted, he opened his eyes and found another saintly person, looking like a devine being sitting on his right side : A *Tazi* horse, laced with a golden saddle, stood at their back.

The *dervish* held the hand of both, the heavenly person and the student and had the latter admitted in the circle of his disciples. Further the *dervish* recommended the student's case to the other person in these words : 'As you help me, please help him also.' The heavenly man accepted his recommendation and then disappeared. The *dervish* allowed him to depart, saying : Whatever you will need, you will be provided with. You would spend the money in a proper way and refrain from unlawful expenditure'.

Having returned to his house, the student followed his advice and got rid of his poverty. One day he committed some error and lost everything in consequence ; his prayer also ceased to have the desired effect.

**Anecdote :** 'Umar Khān Kambo, the father-in-law of His Holiness Mī'ān Shaikh Ladan Dānīshmand was the



amlr-i akhūr<sup>58</sup> of Sultān Sīkandar (Lodi), One day, a groom was found possessed by some genii. Magicians and other experts were called to exercise the genii, yet neither prayers nor magic could free him from the trouble. No sooner the scholars (and other experts) intended to recite any Quranic verse or prayer than the genii began to do even more so. Some two or three days were passed in this way. At last the genii said : 'You take me for an evil spirit. Hence whatever remedy you take recourse to, proves of no avail. I am here for a purpose, when it is fulfilled, I shall set him free.' On being asked the purpose he told them to bring Hāfīz Bhīkāri, son of 'Umar Khān (Kambo) there and promised to depart (after his arrival). They went to the Hāfīz and requested him to accompany them to that place. The Hāfīz made ablution and reached the place. When he appeared before the genii, he stood up out of respect and made salutation (saying *Assalam 'alaikum*). He also sat down with all humility and requested the Hāfīz to recite the Quranic verse, *Surat-Rahmān* in the same melodious voice as he used to do at his home. The Hāfīz recited the verse in a melodious voice and the genii was so deeply touched that he began to weep. At a certain place the Hāfīz committed an error in recitation and the genii interrupted to correct him. When the recitation was over, the genii said : 'I have found him (the Hāfīz) as I was told about him.' On being asked about his identity, the genii told him : 'I belong to the class of Parī (genii) and love to remain in seclusion. I have come out after a long time to hear a recitation of the Qurān. My brothers who once passed from this locality, had heard you reciting the Quran. They spoke to me about your good qualities and as a result of their conversation I became desirous of seeing you and, therefore,' left for this place. I did not have courage to enter your house and see you without the help of an intermediary. I selected this man for this purpose. Please allow me to (depart now), I entrust you to divine

58 The *Amir-i Akhur* was the officer in charge of the royal stable. Like the Sultan, the nobles also had *amir-i Akhur* in their own service. Cf. *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, for details.



protection. 'Good bye.' On his departure the groom became all right and began to lead a normal life.

**Anecdote :** The writer of these lines was in the service of Mī'ān Maḥabat, son of Mī'ān Ḥusain Farmulī. One day, when I was sitting in his company, the Mī'ān got up and went inside the *harem*. There he sat down to eat mangoes ; his back was towards the door. A maidservant was washing the mangoes and serving them to him. All of a sudden sometime after the midday she looked towards the door, and said to the Mī'ān : 'Who is this man ?' Who has entered the palace.' The Mī'ān who had a knife in his hands also found him there. Holding the knife in his hand, he rushed towards him. The man did not run away and continued to stare at the Mī'ān. The Mī'ān struck his knife against his face, but he swiftly turned his face and moving towards the wall, disappeared. There was hardly a distance of one yard between him and the Mī'ān. The Mī'ān found nobody even beyond the wall. He asked a woman who was handing over the clothes to the washerman whether she had seen any person. She answered in the negative. Then he came to the place where I was sitting and inquired from me : 'Have you seen anybody ?' I also said : 'No' ! The Mī'ān, (telling me the incident) said : 'It is a strange thing. What is your opinion about it ?' I told him that he might be a genii. The Mī'ān inquired : 'Is there anybody whom I may consult about it. I said : 'Jamāl Nāgaūrī son of Khwājā Ḥamid-ud'-Din Sūfī is an expert in this matter'. He ordered him to be called there.

The Shaikh was called and told of the incident. The Shaikh drew a (magical) circle to enclose (the genii of that region) and asked them to present one who had entered the house of Mī'ān Maḥabat. When he was brought there in a moment, the Mī'ān asked the Shaikh to describe his appearance. The Shaikh said : He was putting on red clothes, a cap of rug and his long hair were flowing down his ears.' The Mī'ān said : 'You are right; he had the same appearance.' He ordered the Shaikh to inquire from him why he entered his house. On being questioned, the genii said : 'I have nothing to do with anybody's house. I like to live



in seclusion and have come out from my cell after a long time, my companions frequently go for sight-seeing in the universe. They daily speak to me about the handsome appearance of M'iān Maḥabat. Therefore, the desire of seeing the Mi'ān overcame me and I could not resist it. As I fulfilled my desire by seeing him, I would retire to my cell. Why are you worried, and why have you troubled me to come back to this place.' The M'iān asked the Shaikh to make him promise not to come to his house again. He promised on oath and was then allowed to depart.

*Anecdote* : Once, two persons entrusted a bundle to the custody of a Ṣarrāf, saying : 'You should return it when both of us come to you together, in case only one of us comes to you, do not give it back.' After a few days, one of them turned up and demanded the bundle. The Ṣarrāf asked him to bring his friend with him. He said : "My friend has also come; he is standing there. Look at him." His friend, who stood at some distance, indicated (to the sarraf) by some sign to return the bundle to him. The Ṣarrāf took out the bundle and gave it back to the man, showing him that it was intact. Being satisfied, he left the place with bundle.

Next day, the other person came to the Ṣarrāf and said to him : 'My friend has left me. If he comes to you, you should not return the bundle to him.' The Ṣarrāf said : You took back your bundle from me yesterday.' He said : 'Who had come'? He said both of you had come and taken it away'. He said : 'I did not go out from my house yesterday.' The Ṣarrāf said : 'Your friend came to me and you made a sign through your hand from some distance, allowing me to give it back'. He said : 'I did not come. He might have been somebody else. My friend is absconding for last two days. Today it came to my mind that I should inform you lest he should take away the bundle (from you). I have come to you so that you may return it when we come together. Now you are concocting an excuse'.

As the dispute could not be settled easily, they went to the *Chabutarā-i-Diwān* to seek justice. The proceeding lasted



for a few days and the court (of the *Wazir*) failed to settle it. The Sultān was informed and both the parties were ordered to be conducted into the royal presence. The Sultān asked the owner of the bundle : 'What was the agreement that you made while entrusting the bundle to the *Ṣarrāf*. He answered: 'We had told him: Give it back when both of us come to you together. My friend is not traceable for a few days and the *Ṣarrāf* says that he came and took away the bundle.' When the *Ṣarrāf* was questioned, he said; 'Both of them had come and taken away their bundle.' The owner said: '(if it is established that) I also had come, I should be condemned to death'. The *Ṣarrāf* said: 'His friend came to me and he made a sign from distance to me that I should hand it over to him. I showed the bundle to this man and gave it back to his friend.' Again, the Sultan asked the man: 'What do you have to say in reply to (*Ṣarrāf*'s) argument?' He said: 'It was not I; perhaps, either he (his friend) has played a fraud or that *Ṣarrāf* has turned dishonest.'

The Sultān perceived that the *Ṣarrāf* was innocent and the man was a cheat, therefore, he said to the man: 'Your bundle is with the *Ṣarrāf*. When both of you come together, you will take it back according to the agreement.' They were allowed to depart. As the plaintiff was a cheat, he did not turn up and the *Ṣarrāf* was left free.

#### *Sultān Sikandar's Daily Routine*

The Sultān did not go to bed at night; he was rather in the habit of taking rest in the afternoon. He spent the whole night in vigil, offered prayers, listened to the petitions of the needy, took decision about state affairs and got *farmāns* written to the nobles in the frontier vilayets and letters to the contemporary rulers at night time. Seventeen men, including learned scholars and Afghāns (noblemen) were constantly with him in his private apartment. After mid-night he took his meal with them. It was the custom that these men, after washing their hands, seated themselves in front of the Sultān, who was himself on his diwan. A large chair was then placed near the royal diwan, and different dishes were placed on it. The Sultān took food from the dishes



and began eating; dishes were also placed before his companions, but none of them partook of it in the royal presence. They remained in their seats and when the Sūltān had finished, they carried away their plates: they either handed them over to their servants or ate them if they felt like eating.

Moreover, dishes were sent regularly from the royal kitchen to every person attached to the court. It was the Practice that when a person was favoured by the king with anything, food or dress, cash or kind, he continued to receive the favour constantly without any change till the end of the king's reign. For instance, Ḥadrat Shāh Jalāl-ud'Dīn Mūḥammad Shīrāzī whom Ḥadrat Shaikh Ḥajī 'Abdūl Wahāb<sup>59</sup> had brought from the holy Mecca, was ordered to be supplied with some dishes of food on the very first day of his visit to the court. At that time, only brain curry, sweetmeats (*kalwāhā*) and *Sambosā* (a savoury) were available in the royal kitchen and sent to the saint. Since then the saint used to receive the same items invariably.

His Holiness Shaikh 'Abdūl Ghānī Jaunpūrī paid his first visit to the Sūltān during summer, and he was served six cups of *sherbet* along with food on the first day. Consequently, he continued to receive the same number of cups of *sherbet* along with the same food till his death. After his death, when his son, his holiness Shaikh 'Abdūl Samad paid a visit to the Sūltān, he ordered that whatever was fixed for Shaikh 'Abdūl Ghānī, should be given to the son as well. Shaikh Abdul Samad often came to visit the Sūltān and got the same articles from the royal Kitchen, the supply of *Sharbet* was never stopped whether it was winter or summer. This tradition was maintained in everybody's case. The King granted interviews to everybody at the same time at which he had been received on the first occasion. Likewise, there was no alteration in the degree of regard and favour that

59. He was a Sūhrāwardī saint and the descendant of Shaikh Jalāl-ud-Dīn Bukhārī, a successor of Shaikh Bahā-ud-Dīn Zakariyā in Uchh, during the 13th century.



was shown to any man on the occasion of the first meeting. Conversation was also limited to the same degree.

In the Court every noble had his appointed post from where he made his obeisance to the Sūltān. At the time of royal procession also every noble stood on the road and made obeisance from there. The Sūltān possessed a retentive memory; if somebody told him his problem or he heard about it, he enquired from the man about it whenever he met him. Different officials were appointed for different works and the petitioner had no need to approach the Sūltān (while moving in procession), as the agents used to satisfy him. For instance, if some oppressed person came forward to demand justice whilst he the Sūltān was riding, he immediately demanded who the petitioner was. The *Vakils* who were in attendance on him, conducted the petitioner to the royal presence and he was fully satisfied.

When the Sūltān once assigned a *jāgīr*, to any noble, he did not *change it* unless he was guilty of misappropriation. If a noble was found guilty of (any) crime, he was never considered worthy of any favour.

If a noble was ordered to be assigned a *jāgīr* of one lac *tankās* and later on, if it yielded ten lac *tankās* after the noble had taken charge of its administration, and back biter reported its (enhanced) yield to the Sūltān, the latter inquired: 'Did he take possession of the *jāgīr* himself or was it made over to him according to my order.' (The officers) submitted: 'He has got it according to his Majesty's order.' Thereupon he said: 'Whatever his good fortune has brought to him, it should remain with him'.

Once *Malik Badr-ūd' Dīn Bahlīm* was assigned a *jāgīr* of seven lac *tankās* in a certain *parganā*. In the first year, the *jāgīr* yielded nine lac *tankās*, whereupon the *Malik* informed the Sūltān: 'The revenue of my *jāgīr* (in such and such) *parganā* amounted to nine lac *tankās* although I had been assigned the *jāgīr* of seven lac. I shall hand over the excess, amounting to two lakhs, to any one whom I am ordered to do so. The Sūltān ordered: 'Keep it yourself.' In the next year the revenue increased to twelve lac *tankās*,



and the Malík again informed the Sūltān who ordered him to retain it. In the third year he collected fifteen lac *tankās* and again sent information to the Sūltān, who answered: 'All of it (revenue of the *jāgir*) is yours: why do you inform me over and over again.'

Mīran Saiyid Faḍlūllāh Rasūldār Kolvī and his brothers, were given a *jāgir*, worth five lakh *tankas*. Once somebody said to the Sūltān: 'This servant desires to take over the *jāgir* of the honourable Mīran on *ijārā* (revenue farming). I shall pay the Mīran whatever is due to him, deposit three lac *tankas* with the royal treasury and keep whatever is left with me.' The Sūltān said: 'You boast too much'. He answered: 'If I am (found) boasting, I may be beheaded'. The Sūltān ordered a *jāndār* (*prefect*) to go and measure the land under cultivation in one of the villages (in the *jāgir*), assess the actual yield of revenue on its basis, and then report it (to the court).

When the *jāndār* reached the place, the *Wajāhdār* gave him one hundred and fifty *tankās* in bribe. In the meantime, another person was sent there to bring back the *jāndār* along with the *mūqaddams*, *patwāris* and other headmen (*ra'iyats*) of these village to the court. As they were brought according to the *farmān*, the Sūltān ordered them to speak the truth with regard to the actual *hāsil* (yield) of the villages. They said that the yield amounted to fifteen lac *tankās*. The Sūltān turned to the officers of the *diwān* and said: 'The way in which you make over a *jāgir* cannot but create doubts. Either you do it out of partiality or accept bribe. What is the matter?' They submitted: The servants were ordered: 'Assign the *jāgir*, consisting of so many villages in that *parganā*. We acted according to the order. We are obedient to the *farmān* and act accordingly.' The Sūltān issued the

60. *Ijara* means Contract. In the revenue system it was a term used for the tract of land assigned to somebody on a fixed rent. The reference to it in Minhaj's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* implies that even an extensive territorial unit could be given to a person on *ljara*. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* ed. Abdul Hai Habibi, Kabul, 1964. Vol.2, p. 62.



*farmān*. 'Since the *jāgīr* was assigned to the Saiyids according to the royal order, the yield whatever it was may be theirs'.

When the musicians or melodious singers, highly skilled in their art, sought attendance, the Sūltān did not call them to the court in the first instance. Mīran Saiyid Rūḥullāh and Saiyid Ibn-al-Rasūl whom he had allotted the posts near his private chamber (*Sarāparda-i-Khāṣ*) interviewed the artists on their arrival. If one of them found them competent and worthy of consideration, he conducted them in the royal presence. In addition, ten expert *Shahnā'i* (flute) players played it every night near the *Sarāparda-i-Khāṣ*, and the Sūltān listened to their music from inside. He ordered that nobody would play anything except the four tunes: (i) *Gorī* (ii) *Kalyān*, (iii) *Kanrā*, and concluded with (iv) *Husainī*, if they played any other tune of their own, they were taken to task.

Every business had its appointed time and proper arrangement; no change was permitted in this matter. He reigned in this manner till the end. All his actions conformed to the law of *Sharia*, except that he shaved his beard. It is also said that some time he drank wine. But nobody ever saw him drunk or found fault with any of his actions. God knows the truth.

When he fell seriously ill, before his death, he ordered His Holiness Mīan Shaikh Lādan Danīshmand<sup>61</sup>, Who was imām to prepare an estimate of the *Kaffara* (compensation) for unlawful acts committed by the Sūltān, such as neglecting prayer (*namāz*) and not keeping fasts (during the month of fasting), shaving of beard, taking of wine, and also inflicting unlawful punishments such as severing the ears of and mutilating the criminals. The Shaikh did accordingly. He noted down in details the compensation for every sin and submitted it to the Sūltān. The Sūltān returned the list of all the sins that he had committed from the

61. He was the son of Shaikh Samau'ddin Kambo Suhrawardi. Shaikh Ladhan had distinguished himself as an authority on Islamic jurisprudence and was held in esteem by the Sultan and his nobles for his scholarly attainments.



period of adolescence to the end of his life to the *Imām* saying : 'Take every sin into account and fix the amount as compensation'. When he submitted his report, containing the figures of amount to the *Sūltān*, he ordered the *Khazānādār* (treasurer) to take out the money from the *Baifu'l Māl* and give it away to the *Ulamā*. The *Ulamā* inquired from the *Khazānādār* : From which section of the *Baitul-māl* had the money been brought out ? He replied : 'The presents and gifts which other Kings sent along with the letters to the exalted court, and the *Peshkash* (money) that the nobles send along with petitions every year, are accumulated in the treasury separately. We are ordered to spend it only where the *Sūltān* would order. This amount is the part of this section'. All the '*ulamā* praised the *Sūltān* for his wisdom.

**The causes of his disease :** It is said that one day *Ḥadrat Qūtb-i-Ālam Shaikh Hājī 'Abdūl Wahāb* spoke on the importance of beard for a Muslim and said to the *Sūltān* : 'You are the King of the Mussalmāns, yet you have no beard.' The *Sūltān* answered : 'I want to keep one. The *Shaikh* said : 'Why do you delay doing a righteous thing'. The *Sūltān* said : 'My beard is short, if I keep one, people will scoff at me ; and they will be penalised for this, (but) I do not want to put Muslims to harm. The *Shaikh* said : 'I shall pass my hand over your face, and by the grace of God you will have a beard to your satisfaction ; all other beards will pale into insignificance before it, and who will dare laugh at it, then ?' The *Sūltān* hung down his head and made no reply. The *Shaikh* said : 'Why do you not answer?' The *Sūltān* said : 'When my *Pir* (preceptor) asks me, I will wear it (the beard).' The *Shaikh* asked : 'Who is your *Pir* ?' The *Sūltān* said ; 'He is one who lives in the jungle, near the village of *Sahev*<sup>62</sup> and occasionally comes to see me'. The *Shaikh* asked : Does he have a beard, ? 'No'', replied the *Sūltān*. The *Shaikh* said : 'When I see him I shall advise him

62. These details, available in the '*Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī*' also contain the name of the *parganā* along with that of the village : 'He dwells in the forest (near) the village, *Sahev*, included in the *parganā* of *Jalesar*'. *Jalesar* is a town of historical importance near *Aligarh*.



also. You should wear beard as soon as possible'. The Sultān turned away his face and kept quiet. Thereupon, Ḥaḍrat Qūṭb-i 'Ālam departed, saying *Alḥamd-ale-l Kūm* (good bye).

Upon the departure of the Shaikh, the Sultān made the comment : 'The Shaikh thinks that men who come to visit him (the Shaikh) and kiss feet, do it owing to his own (spiritual power). He does not understand that were I to cause any one of my Slaves to sit on a littler, and order all my nobles to carry it on their shoulders, they would do so'. His Holiness Shaikh 'Abdūl Jalīl, son of His Holiness Shaikh Saiyidi Aḥmad was standing nearby, when the Sultān made this remark. He reported the comment (of the Sultān) to Shikh Ḥajī Abdul Wahhab as soon as he met him. The Ḥājī placing hand on Shaikh 'Abdūl Jalīl said : 'You are the descendant of Ḥaḍrat Rasūl Āllāh (the Prophet). peace be on him. Since he has compared us with a slave : rest assured, (his comment) will stick in his throat'. Then the Shaikh left for Delhī. The disease of throat from which the Sultān suffered, was caused by his curse.

### Account of Certain Nobles of Sultan Sikandar Lodi

Now I would like to narrate some facts relating to the nobles who flourished during the times of Sultān Sīkandār. After that, God willing, I shall narrate the events of the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm.

I shall not write about the nobles and officers whom I have not met personally. I shall however, write about what I have myself observed and I shall write something about the nobles who happened to be in attendance on the King in Agrā.

*Masnad-i-'āli* Ḥūsain Khān, entitled as Khān-i-Jahān Lodi<sup>63</sup> made it a rule that no *sipāhi* (soldier) in his service, was to be transferred from his appointed post. Consequently

63. He was the son of Khān-i-Jahān Lodi, the elder son of Malik Fīroz, Bahlul's uncle. On the death of his father in A.D. 1480, Sultan Bahlul conferred his title of Khān-i-Jahan, rank and *iqṭā* on his son, Ḥūsain Khan. *Tarikh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī*.



the allowances granted by Khan Jahan to his soldiers were stopped after a lapse of ninety year after the rule of the Afghan Kings was overthrown.

It was also one of his rules that every one of his soldiers should be present whenever the Khan was in his camp. When, however, the Khan stayed in the headquarters and any soldier would come to pay his respects, he would ask him : 'Why have you come' ? The man would reply : 'I have come to salute your honours.' Thereupon, he retorted : 'When I have to march on an expedition, you must turn up without waiting to be called. But when I am in the Capital and you remain here in attendance on me, your dependants will curse and reproach me. It also shows that you have no love or affection for your family'. He would then order the soldier to go home immediately.

The Khan paid the salary and allowances of the man who died in his service to his son and, in case, he had no son, to his brother or the son of brother or the son of sister or the son-in-law, or any one of them (who survived him). If none of the aforesaid persons existed, the Khan ordered the benefits to go to the relations of the deceased's widow. If the widow also did not have any relative, he asked her to adopt a boy from amongst the children of his relations or, in his absence, any free-born boy, and appoint one of the competent slaves owned by her husband as his *peshwā* (custodian). She was also enjoined to send the adopted boy to a guide or a tutor for learning the arts of archery and riding. In short, the Khan did not (stop the payment of) the salary and allowances of those who died in his service under any circumstances.

To the '*Ulamā* and *Masha'ikh* (scholars and saints) who came to see him, the Khan made grants of villages, lands or stipends. He always kept himself informed about the needs of his neighbours and repaired the mosques in his locality. One morning, his holiness *Mī'ān Qādan Danīshmand* came to *Khān-i-Jahān*. When the Khan inquired as to what brought him there so early, the *Mī'ān* answered ; 'I wished to eat *khichuri* (a preparation of rice mixed with pulses). I felt I could not get it prepared at home in time, I then thought of



some rich man with whom I could partake of it. Therefore, I have come to you'.

The Khan said : 'I am not in the habit of taking *khichhri*. If you like, food will be served to you, *khichhri* will also be cooked for you meanwhile'. The Mi'ān said : 'If it is cooked specially for me the time for eating it will have passed'. The Khān said : 'While it is getting ready, I will send for some sweetmeats (*halwā*) for you from the bazar'. The Mi'ān said : 'That's all right. But give me the money so that I may buy whatever I like.' The Khān asked one of his man to bring money immediately. When he brought the money, the Mi'ān took the money and asked the servant to go and fetch the food of his choice. After eating Mian Qadan said : 'I have taken too much food. So I will find it troublesome to stand the motion of a palanquin'. The Khān asked : 'Don't you have a horse'? He answered : 'I do not have a swift moving horse ; the horse which moves with a jerk is worse than the palanquin'. The Khān said : 'I may give you one of my own even-paced horses.' He said : 'If I get such a horse, I shall gladly ride it' ? The Khān told the servant to bring a certain horse, and the horse was brought just as it was standing in the stable with only a cloth cover on its back. The Khān ordered it to be made over to the servant of Mi'ān Qadan. Mi'ān Qadan said : 'I hesitated to go in the palanquin after overeating, but I shall find it more difficult to ride this horses'. The Khān asked : Why ? He said : 'I never ride a bare backed horse'. The Khān smiled and sent for a saddle, which was brought and put on the horse. Then Mi'ān Qadan asked : 'Will the horse remain with me at my house or is it to be returned' ? 'Keep it with you' the Khān replied. The Mi'ān said : 'There is nobody who may take care of it properly ?' The Khan ordered a groom to be employed on monthly wages for maintaining the horse in the Mi'ān's house. Again the Mi'ān inquired about its daily diet. He was told that the horse was given to eat : *Māsh* (*Urd* pulse,) *qand* (crystal sugar), oil and almonds daily. Thereupon, he said : 'How can I, a poor man, afford all these things for the horse ?' So the Khān fixed money for the horse's diet also. After that, the Mi'ān said : 'When this saddle becomes old,



another will be required. Also new covering will be needed when the old one is worn out'. The Khān promised that he would be paid money for all these things also. The Mī'ān then said : 'It would be very inconvenient for me to send the groom every day for receiving money. Kindly grant me a village, the income of which may suffice for all these expenses, viz., the wages of the groom, the daily food of the horse, its new saddle, its reins and its clothing'. The Khān readily complied with this request and a village in Badaūn was granted to the Mī'ān in *mā'āsh* (land-grant made for maintenance). Such a man was Khān-i-Jahān Lodī.

On the death of Khān-i-Jahān, his son, Aḥmad Khān, was neither honoured with his title nor given his place. Mī'ān Zain-u'd-Dīn and Mī'ān Zabār-u'd-Dīn<sup>64</sup>, the officers in the service of the late Khān-i-Jahān, were assigned by the Sūltān the charge of the contingent of the Khān along with the *parganas* (of his maintenance-*iqtā'*). The Sūltān wrote to (Mī'ān Zain-ud'Dīn) with his own pen : 'Be it known to Mī'ān Zain-ud'Dīn that the *Mū'ājib* (Office and military rank) have been conferred upon him by Hadrat-i-'Āla (exalted Majesty). They do not belong to the *Masnad-i-'Āli* (Khān-i-Jahān Lodī) or his descendants'. Since then Mī'ān Zain-u'd-Dīn took the muster of the army and (had the charge) of the *parganās*. The management of the *jāgir* of quiver-bearers (also) remained under his charge as it was previously. Aḥmad Khān, son of Khān-i-Jahān was given one tappa (a tract) in Rewari<sup>65</sup>, one of the dependencies of Kaithal, in his mother's name (for maintenance). He was himself granted an annual allowance of one lac *tankās* for the purchase of horses, one lac *tankās* for clothing, and another lac (*tankās*) for *pān* (betel-leaves) and other miscellaneous expenses.

Every year the report (about the affairs of the territory) was submitted (at the royal court) and action was taken in accordance with the royal order. He continued to send the

64. Mī'ān Zabār-uddīn was the younger brother and posted by the Sūltān in Delhi as Mushtaqi tells us in the details about him.

65. Rewari is now a *parganā* headquarter in the Haryānā State. Kaithal is also in Haryānā.



report to the court of the Sūltān according to the custom. Once the Sūltān returned it with this remark in his own writing : 'Neither intelligible nor plain'. Mī'ān Zain-ud'Din's servants were surprised at the remark. (They thought) 'We sent a detailed report but got a reply too brief to understand'. Every one tried to explain its meaning, but in vain. At last Mī'ān Zain-ud'Dīn perceived and said : 'I have understood its meaning'. On being requested by the friends, he said : 'The order is (to the effect) that the revenue collected in the *parganās* of *Khālsā* should be distributed (to the soldiers) as it is no longer needed'. They did accordingly. It never happened again.

Mī'ān Zain-u'd-Din was such a religious and large-hearted man that the following verse may be recited in his praise :

I am the wise man of the day during this (period of) dearth of sincerity ; Combining in myself the qualities of the rich and the virtues of saints.

I shall write something about his moral qualities, so that people may know that such were the (high) qualities of the officials of those days that the divines of the present age are not equal to them. He was in habit of getting up before the night passed. First he took bath and offered *namāz-i-tahajjūd* (voluntary prayer offered at midnight). Thereafter, he recited the seven (*pārās*) (parts or divisions) of the Quran standing all the time on his legs till the time of the morning prayer. He offered obligatory prayer (*nafls*) in his house and then jointed the congregation in the mosque for the compulsory prayer (*Fard*). He also offered the prayers of 'Ishrāq, Chāsht, other voluntary prayers (after sunrise) and also busied himself in other religious exercises. He read ten *pārās* of the Quran in the daytime standing on his legs. In this way he always read seventeen divisions. He also read one part of the *aurād* (prayer for the benefit of a dead person) for *Ghāus-ul-Saqalain* (Shaikh 'Abdūl Qādir Jīlānī), the whole of 'Hūsni-i-Hasin' (Quranic verse loudly). Besides he offered other prayers along with five hundred supererogatory prayers, all standing. In short, he remained busy in offering prayers from midnight till noon; and neither



he spoke to any one nor paid any heed to any worldly matter during this time. If there was an urgency, he directed people by signs to do the needful. He took food in the company of scholars and pious people and discussed religious objects with them at that time. When the lunch was finished, he retired for having a mid-day nap. He got up for offering after-noon prayers, and then sat to dispense with his daily business. Likewise, he offered the prayers of 'Aṣr (prayer before sunset), Maghrib (evening prayer) and engaged in the recitation of the prayers till the 'Ishā (night prayer). Having performed it (the 'Ishā prayer), he joined the company of the friends and took a few eatables, such as dry-fruits, milk and rice. Thereafter, he went to his harem. None of his servants of either sex was careless in offering prayers. Whenever a girl or slave-boy was bought for him from the bazar, he placed her or him under the charge of a tutor for teaching the slave (of either sex) prayer and the commands of religion, and the duty was assigned to her or him only after this education was over.

On Friday nights, he did not allow the Hindu to stay with him from the time of 'aṣr prayer, (prayer, offered before sun-set) and passed the night in the company of pious and religious men. Once, on a Friday night, a royal messenger came to him thrice with the royal order, summoning him to the court, but he did not go there. When the Sūltān was informed that the messenger had been sent for Mī'ān Zain-ud' Dīn thrice but he had not turned up, the Sūltān said: 'Tonight is the Friday night, he will not come. Call him after the congregational prayer is over'.

Besides the month of *Ramzan*, Mī'ān Zain-u'd-Dīn kept fast on Thursdays and Fridays throughout the year. He never neglected this obligation and there was no alteration in this practice whether it was summer or winter, or whether he was travelling or at home. He never failed to offer the prayer in congregation on Fridays. He got six maunds of *sherbet* and *halwā* prepared for distribution in the gathering at night on every Friday, (perhaps during the summer); and its quantity might increase every time. He maintained such a huge kitchen that every one was provided with food three



times a day. Every one whether a relative, stranger or visitor who happened to be there, got food from his kitchen. During the month of *Ramḍān*, food was distributed to people at the time of *Istār* and *Sahr* (the time when the Muslims observing fast take food). The drinking vessels (*kāsās*) full of milk and rice were also sent to every body. Whatever he ate himself, he gave the same to every one.

Every year he called all of his relatives, male and female, from *Delhī* to *Agrā* to see them. He asked every one of them at the time of their departure: 'What do you need? Tell me about what you would like to have'. He provided every one of them with whatever was demanded. Everyone who told him about his intention of arranging the marriage of his daughter, he provided him with every thing, the jewellery, clothes, cot, sleeping dress, and even the palanquin, in case the person happened to be a respectable one. In short, he gave the father of the girl whatever he was required to give to his daughter.

Besides, if anyone, belonging to his army camp (contingent), demanded food from his (*Zain-u'd-Dīn's*) kitchen on the arrival of a guest, saying: 'Today a guest has come, supply tasteful food of different types in such quantity that it may suffice for so many persons'. The (food) was handed over to his servants.

Every year, on the death anniversary of the Prophet of *Islām* (may peace be on him) he spent two thousand *tankās* daily, for twelve days, on food preparations. On the first and the last days (of this celebration) the amount that was spent on the victuals of different kinds and of good flavour, came to four thousand *tankās*. Do you know as to how much four thousand *tankās* of that time would be equivalent to today?

On the death of *Sūltān Sikandar*, he (*M'īān Zain-u'd-Dīn*) was dismissed and *Aḥmad Khān-i-Jahān Lodī* was appointed in his place, He (*M'īān Zain-u'd-Dīn*) was rendered jobless. Many persons stayed in his service, although he did not have enough savings. But he helped his faithful men to the best of his ability and means. One day, my father, *Shaikh*



Sā'dullāh who remained his close friend from the days of childhood to the very end, went to see him unexpectedly, after his dismissal, and found him sitting with some papers which he was tearing into pieces, one by one, and giving to his slave who was washing them in a basin of water. The Shaikh asked him: "What are you getting washed"? He replied: 'Certain big and important persons borrowed money from me as loan. I did not give them the money as loan, with the intention of receiving it back. They, however, had sent me the bonds. If I had not accepted them (bonds), they would have been hurt. Today, when I am jobless, it may come to my mind that I possess bonds, worth three lac (*tankās*), so why should I live without money? Having torn them to pieces, I am now washing these bonds so that greed may not overcome me. Further, if I pass away all of a sudden, my sons may, unknowingly come forward and claim (the money)'.

His friends too who were well-disposed towards him, had similar noble dispositions. One of them was my father, (may God be merciful upon him). He had many children; when he was short of money, the relatives and friends advised him in good faith: 'People who had entered his (Mī'ān Zain-ud' Dīn's) service before you, are no longer with him. You have been in his service for two or three years. None would become prosperous in this state of affairs'. He retorted: 'Those whose objective was money and job, they could not stay as money and job were not available. The objective which I had remains the same, in fact, the more so'. People asked: 'What is that'? He said: 'From childhood to this time I have got the same affection for him; there is no change in it. I have got so much from him that it would last for two or three years'. The friends said: 'We know it for certain that there has been left nothing in your house'. He said: 'I shall dispose of my house and live on its sale. I have also got a library and I shall dispose it off and meet my expenses. However, I shall have no worry so long as I possess the goods, acquired during the days of his prosperity'. Ultimately, he stayed jobless for three years



during the life-time of Mī'ān Zain-u'd-Dīn and spent four years more in the company of his (Mī'ān Zain-u'd-Dīn's) sons. The entire period of his service (of Mī'ān Zain-u'd-Dīn?) lasted for fifty-five years.

There was a Mughal named Māmūn who entered Mī'ān Zain-u'd-Dīn's service after having relinquished his job elsewhere. Soon afterwards Sūltān Sikandar passed away and the Mī'ān became jobless. Māmūn also remained faithful to the Mī'ān, as he was a sincere man. He possessed very good horses along with accoutrements in plenty. When the Mī'ān faced adversity, people said to him (Māmūn) : 'You have received nothing from him, why do you ruin your self'? He replied : 'Indeed God Almighty is the real giver of food. As I am destined to face scarcity in these days, my destiny will follow me wherever I shall go, it will not part company with me. If I am destined to live in prosperity, I shall enjoy it here also. Where should I go leaving the company of this religious man. His company is indeed a blessing.

The horses which he had started dying one by one. If somebody suggested to him : Sell any one horse and provide fodder to others with its sale'. He said : 'I purchased the horses with the intention of using them for the sake of God in *jihād* (holy war). Should I dispose them off for my ownself'? He did not sell anyone of them. He also possessed some buffalos. If somebody asked him to sell the buffalos, he replied : 'I have drunk their milk and offered prayer to God. They are my companions-in-prayer to God. If God wills, they will be placed on the pair of scales with me (on the day of judgement)'. One day, when of all his horses only one horse was left, his son took it to the river for drinking water and in the sand he felt something under foot. When he picked it up, he found it to be a dagger with a golden Sheath. He brought it immediately to his father and showed him saying : 'I have found it in the bed of the river. Māmūn stood up and taking his son by hand went to Mī'ān Zain-u'd-Dīn. Throwing the knife on the ground, he said to Mī'ān Zain-ud'Dīn : 'Today you are my master. This son of mine has found it. You should return it to its owner'. The Mī'ān



sent it to the *Chabūtarā-i-Wizārat* with the message : 'One person has found it, lying (in the sand). We hand it over to you'.

In those days it was a rule that whatever was found lying anywhere by any person, he brought it to the *Chabūtarā-i-Wizārat*, and it was hung in the arch of the city gate. It was kept hanging till the claimant turned up. It was delivered to him when he established his claim on inquiry.

By chance, Pūkhraj, a Hindu passed through the gate and recognised the *handle* of the knife. He went to the officers of the *Chabūtarā* and claimed the knife as his own. The officers asked him 'if he remembered how much the gold on it weighed. He told him : 'It is fifteen *tolās* (in weight)'. Having ascertained the fact, they gave it over to him. Pūkhraj inquired (from them) about the man who had found and brought it to the *dīwān*. They told him that he was one of the servants of Mī'ān Zain-ud'Dīn. He left the *Chabūtarā* and went straight away to Mī'ān Zain-ud'Dīn and asked about the person who had found his knife. The Mī'ān told him the name of Māmūn Mughal. Then he expressed his desire to see Māmūn. When Māmūn was called there, Pūkhraj offered him twenty-two *tankās*. But Māmūn refused to accept the amount. People persuaded him to accept it as he was making an offering on his own. Māmūn said : 'This is all an excuse : if my son had not found it, he would not have offered it to me. This is all due to it. As the knife was an unlawful thing for me to keep, it (money) is also unlawful for me'.

On every Monday he recited *durūd* (prayer for the blessing of God on the Prophet) one hundred thousand times and distributed cooked rice, worth four hundred *tankās* in the name of the Prophet, may peace be upon him. On Thursdays, he repeated the Quranic verse, *Sūrai-Ikhlās* one hundred thousand times and also distributed sweetmeats, worth four hundred *tankās* in the name of Ghaus-ul-Saqlain (Shaikh 'Abdūl Qādīr Jīlānī). He arranged these two feats twice in a week. It was indeed a nice and auspicious age during which lived such a nice King with such nice officers and soldiers.



### Mi'ān Zabār-ud-Dīn

Now, know a little about the virtues of his younger brother, named Zabār-ū'd-Dīn. He was a very pious man, and like his brother, he also spent much of his time in offering voluntary prayers (*nawāfil*), observing fasts, and reciting *aurād*. But he did not devote as much time to the daily recitation of the Quran as his brother did. He made ablution twice, firstly, before offering the compulsory prayers (*sunnat-o-fard*) and, second, before offering supererogatory prayers at that very time.

He lived most of the time in Delhi. He spent eight months in Delhi and four months in Agrā. During his stay in Delhi, he used to go on every Monday to the *Ḥauḍ-i-Shamsī* (Shamsī tank) along with his friends, among whom were included the scholars, *Mashāikh*, *Sūfis* (saints), poets, scientists, *Qawāls* (singers) and musicians and held a party on its bank. He maintained a large kitchen (from where victuals were freely distributed).

On Wednesdays he visited the shrine of *Ḥaḍrat Sūltān-ul-Mashā'ikh* (Nizām-ud'Dīn Aulī'yā) and held the *samā* 'party there on the bank of the Jamūnā. He went along with the above-mentioned friends to *Qadamgah-i-Ḥaḍrat Risālat Panah* (the shrine where the foot prints of the Prophet were preserved) on every Thursday. He stayed in the city on Friday in order to join the congregational prayer. On Saturday he went to the *Kushak* (rest-house) in the village of Malcha along with the tents for his ladies and passed the day in hunting animals. He took his *harem* with him everywhere.

He possessed courage and bravery. He was killed along with Sūltān Ibrāhīm Lodī in the battle (of Pānīpat). He joined the army of Sūltān Ibrāhīm but did not accept any salary from the Sūltān. He remained in his camp for two months till he was martyred.

Mi'ān Zain-ud-Dīn lies buried on the (bank of) Shamsī tank ; his tomb and *Khānqāh* are still intact there.



**Mojāhid Khān**

He was known as Mūjahīd Khān Kālā. It was his habit that whenever he wanted to assign some duty to one of his servants, he called him and said : 'I maintain you because I am alone and have so many things to do. I cannot reach every place myself (and do my job). I send you as my representative where I should go myself'. When he (the officer in his service) accepted the offer, he told him : 'Your present *jāgir* (*iqtā'*) is worth twenty-thousand *tankās*. Now your rank has been raised and, therefore, you would be required to increase your expenditure. You will have to maintain your contingent with your (previous) *mawājib* (*iqtā'*)<sup>50</sup>. I double your *mawājib* (allowances). He said : as some of your relatives, friends, neighbours and acquaintances would rush to you (to congratulate), and you would have to entertain them ; Your allowances may suffice for your maintenance. Where from will you get (money) to give them ? For them, you borrow twenty thousand *tankās* from my treasury and invest this amount in trade. You purchase whatever is cheap at the time of harvest and sell it after sometime, when it is profitable. You keep the profit with you and return the principal (sum) to the treasury. Besides, in every *parganā* that comprises, for instance, fifty or hundred villages, you cultivate land with a pair of bulls, so that the income accruing from it may suffice for additional expenses'. After it he called him, gave him betel leaf and while permitting him to leave for the place, said : 'I have done whatever favour you deserved. You ought to work honestly. If you will be found guilty of dishonesty, you will yourself feel ashamed.'

**Khwājā Jauhar**

He served Khawwās Khān and Mī'ān Bh'ūā (successively) as a *parwānānavis* (secretary). It was his regular habit that he went to the *diwān* early in the morning and the files were placed before him, but he never paid attention to any business unless he had, for the sake of God, attended to the



poor supplicants. He never changed this routine, and even if there was an urgent business he kept it in abeyance. The *parwandā* (letter) drafted by him had acquired so much credibility at the court of Sūltān Sikandar that if somebody noted down in his application that he had got the *parwandā* from Khwājā Jauhar, his petition was accepted without his having to pay any money (bribe).

### Khawwās Khān

Khawwās Khān whom Sūltān Sikandar ordered to march to Nagarkot<sup>66</sup> for the capture of *Mulk-i-bālā* (the hill country), conquered it and having sacked the temple of Debī, the chief centre of infidelity, brought away the stone which (the infidels) worshipped, together with the copper umbrella, placed over it on which the date was engraved in Hindvi Character (representing it) to be two thousand years old. When these things were sent to the Sūltān, the stone which was worshipped, was given over to the butchers to make weights out of it. From the copper of the umbrella, pots were made for warming water. They were placed in the mosques and the royal palace, so that everybody might perform ablutions and clean himself. At the time when Khawwās Khān was deputed to this region, he was ordered to make land-grants, amounting to three *lacs*, to certain persons out of the revenue of the region. But he made over grants to people up to fifteen *lac tankās*. When he returned to the court, he was seized by a fatal sickness. He intimated the Sūltān that he had something to say to him. The King asked whether he would send the message or wished to speak himself. He replied that he wanted to speak himself. The king said : 'If you have the strength to come, you may come over here, otherwise I shall come to you'. Upon this he seated himself in *pālki* (palanquin) and went to the

66. Nagarkot is a famous religious centre of the Hindus in the Himachal Pradesh. Its ruler was the vassal of the Sūltān of Delhi since the time of Sūltān Muhammad bin-Tughlaq. Assumption by him of independence provoked Sikandar Lodi to depute army against him.



court. The Sūltān ordered the *pālki* to be brought up to him, and then said : 'Speak out whatever you have to speak.' He said : I do not know whether I shall survive this sickness, therefore, I have brought the papers relating to the *dīwān's* accounts and somebody should be ordered to examine them.' His Majesty replied : 'I had made you *Vakil-i-Mullaq* (supreme minister invested with full powers), what account have I to settle with you ? What ever you did is just as if I have done it myself.' Again he (the *Khān*) said 'I have made over things to people without the royal order ; if you approve of it, it is well and good ; if not, it may be deducted from my salary and allowances'. His Majesty said : 'I approve of it'. He (the *Khan*) said : 'There were some meritorious people who had very little to subsist on. Formerly three lac *tankās* were fixed (to be given to them in the form of land-grants) but I have now made grants worth fifteen lacs to them. What is your Majesty's order' ? The Sūltān said : 'I have just told you that you were my *Vakil*, and I know that whatever you have done, you have done for my advantage. I sanction it and allow you to keep all with you'. He then took all the papers from him and had them washed in water. Thereafter the *Khān* said : 'You have forgiven this servant. But I appointed some of my friends to do government jobs, and have settled account with them. What is your Majesty's order in this connection ? His Majesty replied : 'Since you have already checked their accounts, it is approved'. In short, the Sūltān very kindly approved of whatever the *Khān* told him and then allowed him to leave. At the time of departure, the *Khān* burst into tears. Upon it the Sūltān inquired as to why he was weeping. He said : 'His Majesty has done the utmost favour to the servant. Now I weep out of the fear of (Almighty God) ; how will He treat me' ? His Majesty consoled him in this way : All this that I have done for you is the indication of His mercy. Since He is kind upon you, He also made me kind to you. You had an easy time here and, therefore, you may expect the same hereafter also.' Then he sent him back.

/33235



On the death of Khawwās Khān, Mī'n Bhū'ā<sup>67</sup> was allowed to act in his office. First of all he received a *farmān* that the servants and the postholders of Khawwās Khān's time should not be removed and they be retained in their old positions. Salutations. Afterwards Mī'ān Bhū'ā was allowed to hold the office of Khawwās Khān on a permanent basis as his successor. Mī'ān Bhū'ā was such a man that he selected 'ulamā as his associates and the scholars of age joined him. He employed scientists and copyists and got the copies of books on different subjects made by them. The books were obtained from abroad, such as Khūrāsān and given over to the scholars and scientists. All the scribes were kept engaged in transcribing the books. He invited the scientists and scholars from (different parts of) India, Khūrāsān 'Irāq, and Transoxiana along with the learned works. He got books on Medicine collected, and got selections made from them. One such voluminous book was compiled (on medicine) and it is called *Tib-i-Sikandar Shāhī*. In India no book on medicines can equal it in standard. Whoever sees this book, he realises its worth.

He offered his prayers five times in congregation and took his meal along with his associates. He maintained a large kitchen where hundred and fifty chicken and different types of sweetmeats were prepared daily.

It was also his practice that if somebody came to him for employment and he accepted his bow (i.e. selected him for military service) on that very occasion; the *Chihrānavisān* (officials charged with the duty of noting down the descrip-

67. He was the son of Khawwās Khān and was known for his high sophistication, deep learning and large-hearted patronage to the scholars and poets. He compiled the famous work *Ma'dan-ul Shifā*, known as *Tib-i Sikandarī* and calls himself the son of Khawwās Khān. The *Tib-i-Sikandarī* is one of the celebrated works on Indian medicine. It is available in print also. 'Umar bin Yahyā Kabulī who was attached to Mī'ān Bhū'ā translated Sanskrit works on music into Persian and called his translation as *Lahjāt-i-Sikandar Shāhī*. cf *Lahjat-i Sikandar Shahi, A Unique and Exhaustive Book on Indian Music*, Dr Nazir Ahmad, *Proceedings of The Indian History Congress*, 16th Session, Waltair, 1953, pp. 220-224.



tive rolls of the soldiers), noted down his *châhrâ* (descriptive roll), and, on the third day, (they noted) every thing to be maintained by him, such as horses, camel, tents, saddles and the horses, clothing as well as the fodder to be bought by him for the animals. Then they submitted to the Mī'ān the list of the allowances regarding food, betel leaf, *Kafūrdān*, (camphor-case), *Khūshbūdān* (perfume-case), cot, sleeping dress, garments, carpet, arms and other military accoutrements in details. The Mī'ān posted the (newly recruited soldiers) for *Chaukī* (night watch) at the royal palace. Mī'ān Bhūa personally read out before the king arrangement about the *chaukī* and the description of the soldiers, and got reward for them. If the soldier did not get money to meet his expenses, he went to the *Sarrāfs* (money-lenders) in the bazar and demanded money on interest. The *Sarrāf* inquired from him: "Has Mī'ān Bhū'ā accepted your bow?" He said: "Yes: He has accepted it." Upon it the *Sarrāf* fixed his daily allowance and began to pay him money. This arrangement might last for two or three years till his case came to the mind of Mī'ān Bhū'ā all of a sudden and then he sent his papers to the officers of the *dīwān* with the order that the person be called, paid his allowances to his satisfaction and (the Mī'ān) be informed about it. The *dīwāniāns* (officials of the Revenue Ministry) having satisfied the soldier, informed the Mian accordingly. Thereupon the Mī'ān called the soldier and asked him in which *parganā* he wanted his *jagir* to be assigned. He desired to have the *jagir* in the *parganā* near his hometown; the Mī'ān who had villages reserved for him in every *vilayet*, assigned the *jāgir* to him (the soldier) from there. He had him paid his arrears from the day of his recruitment to that day (of assignment). In this way he had him paid his arrears of two or three years in cash from the treasury so that he might get freedom from the money-lender. After it he granted him leave, saying: 'Go and spend some time comfortably in your *jāgir*.'

I have described but only a small part of his (good) qualities. This account relates to the affairs of the office-holders, now, I would write something of what I know about (the affairs) of other nobles.



### Daulat Khān Lodi<sup>68</sup>

Daulat Khān Lodi, the *mūqtā'* of Lāhore was a pious and law-abiding man. In the palace of his residence he had got placed a *kursi* (astrolab) with a wooden rod fixed upon it to measure the shadow (for calculating the correct time). The servants were posted to maintain record of the shadow (of the rod on the *kursi* in the Sun) and engrave it on the chair. The servants noted this and informed him (Daulat Khān Lodi) about the shadow; the (changing) positions and, thus he was kept informed of the passage of time.

He followed the holy law (*Sharā'i-Shārifā*) to the extent that in his *vilāyet* wine, pork, prostitution and gambling were strictly prohibited. He neither told a lie nor spoke anything indecent. He recited the holy Quran daily in the assembly of people and (while doing so) he kept a rose-water bowl before him, so that he did not have to put saliva on his fingers to turn the paper (of the Holy Book), as was commonly done by other people. He paid *zākāt* regularly. One may guess about his other good works on the basis of this (brief account).

### Mi'an Sulaimān Farmulī<sup>69</sup>

Mi'an Sulaimān Farmulī, the grandson of Shaikh Salmān, lived in Agrā. His was a wonderful personality. He too had

68. He was the son of Tātār Khān Yūsuf Khail Lodi who had assumed independence in the trans-sutlej territories of the Punjāb towards the close of Sūltān Bahlūl's reign and was killed by Prince Nizām Khan in the battle near Ambālā. In 1499, Daulat Khān, seems, to have won over Sūltān Sikandar Lodi's confidence and was entrusted with the charge of Lahore and other western *sarkars* cf. *The Afghan Governors of the Punjab During the Life-time of Guru Nanak*, Iqtidar Hūsāin Siddiqī, *Journal of Sikh Studies*, Guru Nanak University, Amritsar, Vol. I, No. 2, August 1974 for further details.
69. He was the son of Khān-i-Khānān Farmulī who had supported Sūltān Sikandar's claim to the throne of Delhi in A.D. 1488. On Khān-i-Khānān Farmulī's death, Mi'an Sulaimān Farmulī was allowed to succeed his father in his rank and office. But in 1510 he lost the royal confidence and was deprived of royal favours. Then he was assigned only the *parganā* of Indri (in Haryana) for the maintenance of his family and contingent. See *Firishtā*, p. 178; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, i/335.



a rod fixed on *kursi* (astrolab) (at his residence) (for calculating the time). He always came out to first join the congregation for offering prayer. Mī'ān Badr-u'd-Dīn was employed by him as *Imān*. This writer was studying *Kanz* (one of the collections of the traditions of the Prophet of Islām) under the latter's guidance. He started preparing for the afternoon prayer much before the time and asked the students to leave for their homes. Once I asked him: 'There is still some time for the commencement of the prayer; Why do you begin preparation so early?' He answered: 'I always try to reach (the mosque) earlier than the Mī'ān, but in vain. I always find the Mī'ān present on the prayer-carpet'.

In the morning the soldiers came to salute him; and so long as he sat there not less than two thousand of them turned up. He maintained six thousand *sawārs*. No sooner had one (of the soldiers) turned back, another one presented himself. During this period, if the Mī'ān chewed the betel leaf, he ordered all those present to be entertained with betel-leaves. If he took, it ten times, they too were also given betel leaves (to chew) ten times. If he ate camphor, he distributed it with his own hand to people around him. The servants stood with *Kafūrdāni* (camphor vessels) each containing five hundred tola camphor on both the sides of the Mī'ān. If the Mī'ān took musk, he distributed it among the servants also in the same manner. He never put anything in his mouth unless everyone of the servants present in the assembly also got it. He maintained a large kitchen.

During the winter and the rainy days he distributed clothes and blankets among the poor people and provided the widows with sheets of cloth. He distributed cash among the deserving people during the days of 'Āshūrā (10th of the *Muharram*), death anniversary of the Prophet of Islam, and in the month of *Rajab*. If any soldier came to see him at the time of his holding the court, and he was standing, he got up and embraced him. If he was riding, he came down from the horse. He never met any person sitting on horse back. It is beyond my ability to describe all the worldly things that he possessed.



### Other Nobles

Jalāl Khān Lodi, Khān-i-Khānān Nūhānī and Dilāwar Khān, son of Mī'ān Bhū'ā, spent extravagantly on wordly things. They were known for having a large number of women in their households, and spent on such other matters in a similar manner. Dilāwar Khān daily purchased flowers worth two thousand and five hundred *tankas* (for his *harem*).

### Mian Gadd'i Farmuli

Mī'ān Gadā'i Farmuli, the *muqtā* of Qanauj was a pious man, possessing intelligence, wisdom and competence. He associated himself with scholars and men of learning. When he was on military expedition, he had a number of camels for carrying the cauldrons, full of food; (eatables could thus be prepared in course of journey). There was no such person among the nobles and men known in the army of the King on march who did not receive the dishes of sweetmeats according to his status. He rode in the company of the King and the *sawārs* who accompanied the King also received (sweetmeats). He always kept goats in sufficient number with him and also supplied them to the Sultān.

### Sai'd Khan Yusuf Khail Lodi

Sa'id Khān, son of Mūbārak Khān Yūsūf Khail Lodī held the *iqṭā'* of Lucknow. It was his habit that every time when a supplicant reached the gate (of his house), he was immediately informed about him and his appearance; no matter whether he was a *qalandar* (recluse), soldier or an *amir*, the same custom was observed in every case. When he sat at the dining table, a huge empty china dish was placed before him along with various types of food preparations. First he filled the china dish with every food preparation, and on it placed great quantities of bread and pickles of every description, and then a betel leaf, and on the betel leaf a gold Mohur (coin). After it he sent all these to the beggars who used to assemble at the gate of his house. Having done this, he recited *Bismillah*, and started eating his meal.



Wherever he went he carried a bundle of three garments, one of calico, the other of *jumār* and the third of *Khāsa* (silk fibre). The cloth that he received from the holy person as *tabarrūk* (gift) was always kept before him with the intention of being used as his shroud.

He was known for his large-hearted generosity. Everyone to whom he spoke, he addressed him as an *amir*, even if he chanced to be a stranger, he ordered him to be given one lac *tankās*. One day the *Vakil* of Shaikh Ahmad, son of Mī'ān 'Imād Farmūlī, came to see him. On being informed (about him) he sent for him into his presence. He asked him: 'How have you come?' He replied: 'I have come to say good bye; I am leaving (for home) as I have to make arrangement for the marriage of my daughter.' He offered him betel-leaf and ordered the slave boy in attendance to bring the box placed beneath the cot and open it. Having brought it, the young slave opened it; it was full of gold *Mohurs*. The *Khān* ordered him (the slave) to fill both of his hands with gold *Mohurs* and cast them into his (*Vakil's*) skirt. Then he allowed him to depart. When he reached the gate, the same slave boy came to him and asked him to go to the *diwāniāns* (officers in the *Khān's diwān*) so that it might be known how much money he had been given. They valued that the gold *mohurs* were worth seventy thousand *tankās*. This was related to the *Khān*, who commanded the slave-boy to take away as many more as were required to make up to one lac *tankās*.

One day, whilst the *Khān* was hunting, a person brought yogurt to him in the manner of villagers. The *Khān* ordered the pots in which it was brought to be filled up with gold *mohurs* and returned (to the man who had brought it). They did it, and the money (thus given) amounted to more than one lac *tankās*. One day a woman, a resident of Chanderī, brought some *nīm* leaves (*nīm* being a shadowy tree) upon a plate to the *Khān*, who saw that they were quite green and fresh, and said to the woman: 'What is the good in bringing *nīm*-leaves?' She answered: 'I have brought a vegetable preparation cooked in such a manner that while they have not



changed their appearance, they have all the flavour and taste of food.' He directed a person to taste a bit, he found it so tasteful that it no longer retained the least flavour of *nīm* leaves. Her plate was also filled with gold *mohūrs* and returned to her.

One day the horses of the *Paigāh* (stable of the *Khān*) were being inspected by him. *Saddū Khān Sirbīnī*<sup>70</sup>, one of his officers was in attendance. When the horse was brought (before him) the *Khān* saw it and then turned to *Saddū Khān* asking: What sort of horse it is? He praised the horse exceedingly. The *Khān* said: Give this horse in charge of *Saddū Khān's* men'. A second horse was brought, and the *Khān* again put the same question to *Saddū Khān*, who again spoke highly of the horse. This was also given to *Saddū Khān's* men. He asked *Saddū Khān* this question about twenty horses and gave them to him in this way. At last *Saddū Khān* became silent. Thereupon the *Khān* inquired from him the reason of his keeping silent. He replied: '(Your) generosity has exceeded all bounds. How long should I speak'? The *Khān* smiled and said: You are distressed by getting one by one.' He ordered all the horses (brought for inspection) to be sent to *Saddū Khān's* house. There were one hundred and twenty horses and they were all made over (to him) in this way.

Once, at night the *Khān* asked *Saddū Khān*: 'Have you seen *jagmag Lodhā* (shining diamonds)?' He said: 'Though I have not seen it, yet I have heard much about it. It is a poetic composition that commoners play on *Sarūd* (a musical instrument)'. The *Khān* said: You may see here what you have heard about.' He ordered the (servant) to bring all the three decked caskets obtained recently. They contained

70. The Afghāns belonging to the *Sirbīnī* tribe do not seem to have been taken in the royal service during the *Lodī* period. The *Sirbīnī* Afghāns either carried on trade on a small scale or served under different nobles. *Sher Shāh* was the first Afghān ruler who employed them in the state service and also raised a few of them to important positions. *Afsānāh-i Shāhān*, *Shaikh Kabr Batni*, photograph of the Ms (British Museum, London), f. 158a; also *Tabāqāt-i-Akbarī*, ii/20.



diamonds. They were brought, opened and placed on white sheets of cloth. Then the burning candles were brought and a curtain was hung around them; and soon the caskets began to shine. The Khān said: they are *jagmag lodha*, meaning shining in Hindi. Saddū Khān started admiring them and said: 'Whatever I had heard, today I see it with my own eyes'. The Khān said: Tell me truly which of these three caskets have you selected as that which you expect to receive from me? Saddū Khān said: 'I have not selected anyone of them'. Again the Khān insisted on his being frank. Thereupon (Saddū Khān) said: 'I have selected this casket (containing small diamond)'. This was worth three lac (*tankās*). The Khān said smiling: 'You pass over the biggest diamond and choose the smallest'. The biggest diamond was worth seven lacs. He answered: 'I thought that the smallest diamond would be given to me as it is nearer at hand'. The Khān said: 'Good: You have preferred this one (smallest diamond) and I have chosen the biggest one. I give all the three to you.' The third diamond was worth five lacs.

At the time when the King (Sikandar Lodi) deputed the Khān to Chanderi,<sup>71</sup> he proceeded by uninterrupted marches as there was a long distance to cover. The back of all the animals loaded with treasures were galled, and the fresh animals could not be had on the way. The Khān was informed with the suggestion: in case the permission is given, treasure be distributed among the armymen as they are short of money. We shall deduct it from their (maintenance) villages afterwards. The Khān approved of the suggestion. Having distributed the treasure among the troops, the officers got the receipts and sent them to the Khān who tore up the documents, saying: 'Have I become a *baqqal* (grocer) or *sarrāf* (money-lender) that I should lend and then take back? I have given it to the army.' It amounted to seven lac *tankās*.

71. The territory of Chanderi was annexed by Sultān Sikandar Lodi to his Empire in 1610 A.D. when its officers had transferred their allegiance from the Sultan of Malwā to him.



### Masnad-i-'ali-'Āzam Humayon Sarwani

*Masnad-i-'ali 'Āzam Hūmāyūn Sarwānī*, the *muqta'* of Karā was a grand, generous, warlike and wise man in religious as well as worldly spheres. He was in habit of acquiring two thousand copies of the Qur'an every year. He used to send some of them inside his *harem* for daily recitation, and the rest he distributed when the date of the Prophet's death arrived, that is in the month of Rajab, he distributed them amongst the students, and acquired fresh copies of the Qur'an which he gave to the '*ulamā* and scholars. The supplicants came to him from the distant places such as Multān and Sonārgā'on (in Bengāl) and he gave them money to their satisfaction and then sent them back fully satisfied. Next year, he acquired the Same number of copies of the Qur'an. On the occasion of *Id-ul-Zūha* (Muslim festival of sacrifice) he sacrificed cows, sheep, and camels, numbering three thousand. Having offered the midnight prayer (*namāz-i-tahajjud*), he recited the Qūrān and remained busy with recitation and other prayers till the prayer of *chāshit* (the middle hour between sunrise and the meridian). During this period he did not talk about worldly matters.

He had forty-five thousand *sawārs*, seven hundred elephants and maintained separate stables for the horses of different colours and breed. He had two thousand and five hundred *marāabdārs* (rank-holders), some of whom were high nobles, under him. One of them was Saif Khān Achā Khail, his ('Āzam Hūmāyūn's) *naib* (deputy), who held the command of six thousand *sawārs*. Others were Daulat Khān Nuānī, the (*Khanazad*) commander of four thousand *sawārs* and Fīruz Khān Sarwānī who had six thousand *sawārs*. Besides, there were twenty-five thousand *sawārs* maintained by other nobles. He marched twice against the infidels of Bhatta.<sup>72</sup> The Rājā fled away and had the river between

72. The Baghelā Kingdom of Bhattā (the State of Rewa merged in the Indian Union) was a strong Rājput State in the 15th century. The relations between the Rājās of Bhattā and Sūltān Sikandar

(Contd. on next page)



him and the invaders. He pushed him up to the river and having laid his territory waste returned (to the camp).

One day, when he was having siesta, he suddenly got up and called Saif Khān. He said to him: 'announce it that the whole army should be prepared as I have to march on'. According to his habit, he put on the armour, took the weapons, rode the horse and moved away. When he had already covered twenty *krohs* in this way, Saif Khān said: Khānā (Your Lordship): We should also know where are you going? He answered: 'The Prophet of Islām (be peace on him) has asked me in a dream to ride and march on. He also told me that a large party of the infidels had gathered at such and such a place. (Further he assured me) saying: Get up, you will gain victory. I am going to the place which he has pointed to me'. Saif Khān said: 'Does anyone exhaust his army on the basis of a dream like this'? The Khān pressed his finger between his teeth in surprise and said to (Saif Khān): 'Refrain (from this utterance); You are doubtful about the prophecy of the Prophet in a dream.' He (Saif Khān) said: 'We have covered the distance of twenty *krohs* and we must now know where we have to reach.' The Khan consoled him, saying: 'He has shown me the site. We must travel up to that site wherever it may be.' Saif Khān said: How shall we know where that site is? He answered: I remember it'. Shortly after the Khān cried suddenly: 'Comrades, be prepared: the site that was shown to me, has arrived'. Suddenly they reached there and charged the enemy. After having gained victory, they stayed there for a few days and then turned back.

(Contd. from previous page)

remained strained in the beginning but afterwards the Afghān governors of Karā and Jaunpūr forced them into submission to the Sūltān, as Mushtaqi's references in the account of Lād Khān Sarang Khānī show.

Also see Nirodn Bhushan Roy's *The Baghela Kingdom of Bhatta*, in his *Niamatullah's History of the Afghans*, Shantiniketan, 1958, pp. 195-200.



(Khān-i-'āzam) Aḥmad Khān, son of Jamāl Khān Sārag Khānī

Aḥmad Khān<sup>73</sup>, son of Jamāl Khān Sārag-Khānī was posted in Jaunpūr. He had twenty thousand *sawārs* under him. He was a pious man and a strict follower of the *Shara'*. It was his habit that he had a fixed time for every work ; in case any work was not done at its fixed time for some reason, then the same time was fixed for it on the following day.

He used to take bath at midnight and offer *tahajjūd* prayer. He put on white clothes and sprinkled two full vials of rose (perfume) upon them. He offered the obligatory part of the morning prayer inside the palace and joined the congregation for the remaining obligatory part (*Fard*) in the mosque. Having recited *Aurād* (continual praises of God), he used to utter the name of his *pir* (preceptor) a hundred times. He was the disciple of *Ḥaḍrat Khwājā Ḥusain Nāgaūri*. After it he went to his father for paying his respects to him. He remained there for three hours and recited *aurād* along with other prayers. When it was over, the young slaves came and told him that the time was over. From there he proceeded to the *Tā'lim-Khāna-i-Akhara* (dance hall), and gave instructions or listened to music and saw *Akhārā* for two *sā'ats* (hours). From that place, he came to the *Peshkhāna* (public hall) to receive people who came there to salute him. First he called the *ḥājib*<sup>74</sup> and asked him

73. Aḥmad Khān was the son of Khān-i-'Āzam Jamāl Khān Sārag-khānī, *Sūltān Sikandar Lodi's mūqtā'* of the vast *sarkār* of Jaunpūr. On his father's death, he was allowed to succeed to his office and was also honoured with the title of Khān-i-'Āzam. This title was held by Lād Khān also who was Aḥmad Khān's son and successor during the reign of *Ibrāhīm Lodi*. *Mūshīqī's* statement about Aḥmad Khān Lodi Sārag-khānī makes it sound as if he was the first man of his family to be entrusted with the government of Jaunpūr, although he mentions Jamāl khān Lodi Sārag Khānī as the *mūqtā'* of Jaunpūr in his account of *Dariyā Khān Nūhānī* of Bihār.

74. *Hājib* (the chamberlain) used to conduct people in the presence of the *Sūltān*. As the important governors patterned their courts in the provincial cities on the model, set by the Sultan, they also had the *ḥājib* and such other officers who were attached to the royal court at the Centre.



to conduct the important officers in his presence. The officers (wanted) were, (i) the *nā'ib parwānā navīs* (officer-in-charge of the chancellery), (ii) *Majmu'ādār* (officer-in-charge of keeping muster rolls) and (iii) the *Vakil* who sat on the *Chabūtarā* (raised platform) attached to the gate (of the palace). He (The *Khān*) either directed them to the gate or inquired from them about whatever was desirable and concerned with them, respectively. Thereafter, he asked the *hājib* to receive the petitions from people, gathered at the gate, inquire into their grievances and inform him accordingly. He kept himself busy with settling their affairs for hours, and having dispensed with this work he again asked the *hājib* to go outside and see as to whether there was still any supplicant left. When there was nobody left unsatisfied, he ordered the general *darbar* to be held so that every person, dignitaries as well as commoners, might turn up to salute him. He spent four hours in the *darbār*. In the afternoon he retired to his *harem* and took rest there. After having mid-day nap, he put on white clothes and came out to offer prayers. Again he received salute from people and sat (in the public hall till the time of 'Isha (night) prayer. At this time he passed his time in the company of 'ulama and *mashai'kh* (religious scholars and saints). The officers and their sons sat at the back (of the religious dignitaries). If a soldier occupied the seat of an 'alim (scholar) by mistake, he asked him: 'You must know your place.' Then he sent him to the place reserved for the soldiers; in case some scholar or saint sat along with the armymen, he asked him also to shift to his seat, and made him sit along with him.

One day an emerald was purchased for twenty-five thousand *tankās*. The gold *bādrāhs*<sup>75</sup> were brought and kept in the courtyard of the *diwānkhana*. At the time of prayer,

75. Mushtāqī uses *badrāh* at different places in different sense. Here it means the bags of money while in anecdotes, relating to Salary of Sher Shāh's soldiers it signifies a certain amount of money fixed for g soldiers as his pay and allowances. According to Minhaj, it was a bag full of money. Once Balban collected from the recalcitrant Chiefs of Mewat sixty bags, containing thirty thousand *Tankas*. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, ii/81.



the Khān arrived there and asked why were the *Budrahs* heaped there. The officers told him : We have purchased the emerald from the Saiyid and this is its price'. The Khān who had not seen the emerald asked them to show it to him. When the Khān looked at the emerald, he said : 'What is this nonsense ? Should all of this gold be given for the sake of this piece of stone ? One of the persons present there said : 'This is not nonsense, this is rather advisable (to have it), for so much amount is written on a hide. Moreover, so many beasts of burden are required to carry it. This piece of stone can be safely studded in the handle of the dagger or in the ring'. The Khān asked : 'Why should it be possessed ? He answered : 'We are not aware of the vicissitudes of (our) fortune ; if one has such a stone, it may turn out to be useful (in times of adversity). The Khān retorted : 'This is a greater nonsense, because one may become apprehensive about his future daily and his faith in God would thus be weakened due to the possession of this stone.' Having made this comment, he called the owner of the emerald and asked him : Wherefrom have you got it ? He said : 'I have inherited it from my ancestor'. Again the Khān asked : 'For how much did he purchase it' ? He answered : 'For one lac *tankās*.' The Khān turned his face towards his men and said : 'This is strange. He is disposing of (the emerald), worth one lac *tankās* for twenty-five thousand *tankās*.' He (the owner) said : Since there is no customer available, I am selling it at a cheap price.' The Khān smiled (in sarcasm) and said : 'Strange : It (is supposed to favour its owner in times of) misfortune.' Then he returned the emerald to its owner, saying : 'I have got faith in Almighty God because it is He who solves our problems. I part with these twenty-five thousand *tankās* for His sake. He will always help me in adversity.' He gave five thousand *tankās* to the owner of the precious stone, five thousand *tankās* to *Bandagi Miran Saiyid Ojhar Danīshmand* as *leshkas* (offering) and distributed the remaining fifteen thousand *tankās* to the '*Ulama* and *Mhshaikh* and other deserving persons and asked (his men) : 'Is this transaction more profitable or that ? Everybody appreciated his action.



**Khān-i-'Ā'zam Lād Khān, son of Ahmad Khān**  
(Lodi Sārang-Khāni)

Khān-i-'Ā'zam Lād Khān was the eldest son of Ahmad Khān. He was noble and generous man. He was so much contented with the affairs of the world that he was never found talking about them. He had such officers and *Vakils* (deputies) that they performed state business with utmost honesty and kept the Khān well-informed about it. He could only count as far as ten, and did not ever know as to what was meant by, one and a half or two and a half; if it was ever uttered, he asked what it meant. He understood its meaning if it was explained in Persian. He did not understand if it was explained in Hindi in which language two and a half was called *dha'i* and one and a half *derh*. To everyone whom he wished to help, he ordered him to be given one *ser* gold and silver or two *sers*; he never made mention of a *tolchā* (tolā) or *dirhām*. If the *peshkāsh* (tribute or present) or gifts were received from any territory, he neither looked at them nor sent them to the treasury; it was rather his custom that he made over whatever it was to the man in attendance. If the *peshkāsh* or gift was brought to him when he was playing chess with somebody, it was made over to him; in case he was listening to *Shāhnāmā* or *Iskandārnāmā*, the reader would get it or. Similarly, if it was received at the time of riding or playing *chāugān*, *rākābdārāns* (companions) got it. Likewise, the physicians, astrologers, musicians, story-tellers, who were called *kāthāk*, whosoever was in attendance he got it. The writer (*kātib*) remained with him as his *imām* for long; if any (such) thing was received at any of the five times of prayer, it belonged to him (the writer). Often, it happened that if the gift or present was costly and nice, the servant brought it to the Khān when their friends were in attendance. For example, fine cloth, or bow or produce of Gujarat such as *Qālāmdān* (pen-stand), box or furniture, or whatever of this type, was brought, he ordered it to be made over to the associate who was serving at the time.

One day the Rājā of Bhattā sent an elephant, two ass-loads of fine cloth and a decorated tent, embroidered and



made in Bengal. It was a Friday, and Shaikh Mūḥammad *Salahdar* (the keeper of armoury) was required to attend on the *Khān* on Fridays. Therefore, he submitted the Rājā's petition (*'arizā*) and brought the *peshkash*. Mī'ān Chandū Kokaltāsh was the *Khān* (in his service). He said (to Lād *Khān*) : 'The tent is very fine and excellent ; if permission be granted, Shaikh Mūḥammad be paid its assessed price from the treasury and it may be bestowed upon me, for it is of no use to him. He will sell the elephant and the tent and keep the cloth and other articles for his own use. The *Khān* said : 'Do you want me to violate my custom and law ? Can nobody prepare the like of (the tent) ? Go and get another tent of the same type and the same material prepared, and keep it with you'. He ordered the tent of the same type prepared and fifty thousand *tankās* were spent on its preparation. It was kept by Kokaltāsh. If somebody sent a falcon fowl to him as gift he did not keep it for his own use (it was also given over to somebody). But he respectfully kept everything with him as a *tabarrūk* (sacred gift) that he got from the saints. If a traveller arrived from some place (at his *darbār*) he at once sent the provision to him and fixed his daily allowance according to his status. If he happened to be a worthy person, the *Khān* himself called upon him, otherwise he called him to his court. If a party of *qalandars* (recluses) arrived, a buffalo was given to them as it was fixed (for the *qalandars*) on the very day of their arrival, and then they were permitted to leave. All this was done by his officials (according to the fixed rules) and there was no need for them to seek his permission (in each case). If any suppliant arrived, he was provided with food and one *tankāh* daily so long as he stayed there. He was given twenty-two *tankāhs* on the day of his departure.

During the winter he supplied *qad* (dresses) to his servants and the travellers. He never gave anyone a single dress but two to some, four to some others and both garments-outer garments and head-to-foot dresses (*qabā-o-qadhā*) to some others. He changed two outer garments twice everyday and gave them away each day. During the winter time also his



sleeping dress was made of fine and coloured muslin, and he gave it away on the eight day.

He had twenty-two persons or more as his close associates. Everyone of them maintained a stable of horses in his house but at the time of the army's march everyone of them got a horse and on return the Khān fixed the daily food for it (on his own expense). If the horse died or it was sold its daily allowance was not withdrawn.

Besides, he maintained a large seraglio full of innumerable women. The silken garments were tailored day and night for them. They were never sent to the house of the washerman (for cleaning), and they were put to fire after they had lost their grace. The inside arrangement of the houses (belonging to his women) was like this : The shops were established around a quadrangle (in the palace) as they may be found in the bazar. He had a '*sabhāmandal*' (a pavilion) for his own use constructed in the courtyard of the palace ; at times he sat on its roof and whenever he looked around, he found everywhere houris and fairies. He was delighted by their delicate movements and sweet voices. He had also built numerous basins and beautiful fountains in that grand palace and both of them were supplied water from outside. There were a *hājib* posted at the gate ; a *pardādār* (one who has the care of female apartments) stood at the threshold leading to the *harem*, a *khwājāsārā* at the inner gate, and an old woman sat along the wall inside the palace. If there was some message to be conveyed inside (the *harem*), the *hājib* conveyed it to the *pardāhdār*, the *pardāhdār* sent for the *khwājāsārā*, and the latter informed the old lady behind the wall about it. The old lady took it to the lady concerned in the palace and then the lady acted accordingly. Inside the palace the name of a male (outside the family) could not be uttered by anyone ; in case it was inevitable, only his post was mentioned. Wood for the kitchen was thrown from outside the wall and from there it was taken (to the kitchen) inside the place, and whatever was required in the kitchen, it was handed over to the *Khwājāsārā* and the latter placed it on the wall. The woman carried it to the kitchen. The



dishes (of food) were also sent out in the same way : the woman gave the dishes to the *Khawāsārā*, the *Khawāsārā* carried them to the *pardāhdār* and the *pardāhdār* handed them over to the *farāsh* who sent them to the man concerned.

The fruits of the season, such as mangoes and melons were supplied to every one in the army, and baskets of fruits were fixed for (distribution to) people.

For carrying ladies, special carts were made with boxes. The lady sat in the box and it was locked ; if the box was carried on a palanquin, both of them were covered by three sheets, one upon the other. For the ladies, three camps with three *sarāpardāhs* were installed.

### Masnad-i-ālī Mī'ān Mūḥammad Farmulī

*Masnad-i-ālī* Mī'ān Mūḥammad Farmulī, the *mūqtā'* of Awadh, was known as *Kālā Pahār* (black mountain). He was entrusted with (the charge) of Awadh (territory) after the expulsion of Sūltān Hūsain Sharqī. Bahrālch was still held by Shams Khān, one of the nobles of Sūltān Hūsain Sharqī. At this time Sūltān Sikandar was camping in Bhattā and somebody pointed out to the Sūltān in the assembly that there was left no noble of Sūltān Hūsain in the whole region except Shams Khān in Bahrā'īch. One of the nobles remarked that someone from among themselves was helping him ; that was why he had survived. *Khān-i-Khānān* Farmulī was present there ; he wrote to Mī'ān Mūḥammad about what had happened (in the assembly of the King) and asked him to set the matter right.

Upon receiving the letter of *Khān-i-Khānān* (Farmulī), Mī'ān Mūḥammad called all his officers for consultation, and said : 'We want to cross the river Sarju (Ghagra) and attack Shams Khān.' Everyone of them agreed with him. Soon after he called the soldiers and officers together ; spread a sheet of muslin, placed betel leaves on it and said loudly : 'I am tying this coffin to my head ; whosoever prefers death should accompany me, and those who think otherwise, may



receive the betel leaf of goodwill from me, bid me farewell and I shall be happy with them. If somebody (accompanying) turns traitor on the battlefield, it will not be becoming (on his part). Therefore, I ask him here with all frankness and sincerity not to accompany me.' All of his men submitted with one voice : 'Our heads (will) be under the hoofs of the horse of your lordship on the battlefield. We shall exert till life remains in the body.'

Next day they arrived on the bank of the Ghagrā and collected the boats, so that the river might be crossed along with the army. The Khān again addressed his followers in these words : 'Whosoever likes to accompany me, should step into the boat and cross the river, otherwise go back safely from this place.' All of them willingly stepped into the boats. He himself stood on the bank and the horses also remained on this side of the river. Mī'ān Mūḥammad entered the boat when all his men had set off.

No sooner the boats were steered into the river than Shams Khān arrived on the other bank to guard the ferry. Mī'ān Mūḥammad soon rushed towards his men from behind and ordered them to use bows and arrows instead of fighting with the sword. As they began to rain arrows, by chance an arrow pierced Shams Khān and knocked him down. His followers took to heel. They (the followers of Mī'ān Mūḥammad) continued to exert till they achieved victory. The news of the victory were communicated to Sūltān Sīkandar that Shams Khān was killed by an arrow and his army was defeated. This *vilayet* was also assigned to Mī'ān Mūḥammad.

Further, there were twenty-four Rājās<sup>76</sup> in the *vilayet* of Mī'ān Mūḥammad. All of them united and rebelled against him. As a result confusion arose everywhere. The Mī'ān also marched against them. On the day of battle, he divided his men into three wings: (i) the centre was placed under the

76. They were Rājput *zamindars*, attached to the Sharqi house of Jaunpūr for generations. They rose in rebellion in 1495 at the instance of Sūltān Hūsain Sharqi but failed to drive away the Afghāns.



command of M'ian Ni 'matullāh who was also handed over the 'alam (flag) and *maratib* (insignia) of the *Khān*; (ii) the right wing was led by *Malik Allāhbād Qanaujī*; and, (iii) the left wing's command was assigned to *Qayām Khān Pannī*. The M'ian kept one hundred and twenty tried *sawars* with him along with an elephant and a pair of drums. He ordered all the three wings to start while he himself sat down to play the chess. In the meanwhile the army of the Hindus arrived (to fight). Being informed about it, the M'ian inquired about the real situation and again busied himself in the game, as if nothing had happened. When the news of the start of fighting between the rival armies was brought, the M'ian continued to play and only asked (his men): 'See as to what is the real situation?' Again the news was brought that the right and left wings had been routed. The M'ian asked: 'Does Ni'matullāh hold his place or has gone away?' They said: 'he stands firm in his place.' The M'ian said: 'Since Ni'matullāh stands firm in his place, why should I go there.' In the meantime, he was informed that the men of both the wings had returned and mixed up with the centre. At that time the M'ian stopped the game, asking the companions to keep it as it was and then got up (to march). He came out swiftly from the ambush, beat the drum and ordered his followers: 'All of you should run together, shouting loudly that M'ian Muḥammad has arrived.' When the Hindus heard the drum and the name of M'ian Mūḥammad, they lost their courage and took to flight. The followers of M'ian Mūḥammad had to fight so much that their hands were glued to the handles of the swords. The elephant (captured) had so much iron on its body that when it was brought down, it was found eight maunds in weight. Its name was *Ankasāri* but it was now called *Mandalpahār*.

Having achieved this grand victory, he returned to the carpet of chess, and again busied himself in the game. I have heard from those who were with him at that time that no change had occurred neither in his demeanour nor talks while all this was happening.

The Hindus who had taken to flight had gathered at a certain place and received reinforcement from *Sūltān Hūsain*



Sharqi there. But the Mī'ān returned to Awadh (city) along with his followers on the same day. The 'ulamā and *mashā'ikh* came out to receive them. From another side women, belonging to the section of *ri'ayā* (commoners) came with cups full of water on their heads and singing songs (to welcome them). The officers of the Mī'ān turned towards the *mashā'ikh*, but someone from amongst the Hindus suggested to them: 'First dip your hands in the cup as it is an auspicious omen.' Upon it the officers turned towards women instead of going to the 'ulamā. The 'ulamā (being angry) did not stay to meet them and came back to their houses. Bandagi Shaikh *Darvesh*, who was also present among them, said: 'Since they turned away their faces from us and were attracted by water, we shall see how shall water help them?'

When these nobles proceeded against the Hindus (*zamindārs*) second time, a strong wind began to blow as the battle was going on; and soon it was followed by heavy rain and hail storm. The uneven battlefield where paddy was sown, became so full of water that the horses could not stand there. Most of the Hindus were fighting on foot. They swarmed from different sides and overcame the *sawārs*. Many of the *sawārs* were killed while some of the nobles ran away. The drum and the drum-beater of the Mī'ān were captured by the Hindus. They asked him to beat the drum in the same way as he did in the company of the Mī'ān. When he began to beat the drum in his usual way, the fugitives returned from different sides, after they had heard its sound. Upon their arrival, the Hindus put them to death. Bandagi Shaikh *Darvesh* left Awadh for Delhi. His grave is in Sikandarābād.<sup>77</sup>

Besides Mī'ān Mūhammad was held in so much esteem by the King that when he received the robe of honour, he also got one hundred and one horses along with it. Others got only one horse each. He was the sister's son of Sūltān Bahlūl.

It was his habit that every year he spent three months on hunting along with his followers. He hunted wolves and

77. It is a small town in the district of Bulandshahr, situated along the Grand-Trunk Road.



wild buffalos with spear, but shot the tiger with the arrow. Nobody was permitted to kill the tiger as he had reserved this game for himself. As one of his hands (right hand) was rendered stiff (*shal*) by the wounds that he had sustained, he held the arrow by his stiff hand, kept the bow on his chest, and then stretched the bow with his left hand. The palanquin of the Mī'ān was placed near the place where the tiger was spotted. People were sent away from the place and the Mī'ān stayed there all alone and provoked the tiger. The tiger came out roaring from its den to attack him. Quickly the Mī'ān struck the tiger with the arrow so forcefully that it fell down at the spot where it was, and he finished it off immediately; there was no need of shooting another arrow.

### Mī'ān Husain Farmulī

Mī'ān Husain Farmuli was the *mūqtā'* of Sāran and Champāran.<sup>78</sup> He was called *Jaghat*, meaning in Hindi one whose munificence is famous throughout the world. He possessed large-hearted munificence and chivalry. Besides the *parganās* (included) in his own territory, he had seized twenty thousand villages from the infidels in the border region. At the time when he started against the Raja of Champāran, and was encamped on the bank of the river Gandak. Maghūlā Mangalī Karrānī, one of his nobles inquired how far the Rājā was from there. He was told that he was in the fort on the other side of the river. He again asked how many *krohs* away it was. He was again told that only the river intervened between them and its breadth was about seven *krohs* there. When Maghūlā heard that only the river intervened between them and its breadth was about seven *krohs* there. When Maghūlā heard that only the river intervened between them, he said: 'The infidels are on the other bank and we are sitting on this (bank). What kind of Islam is this if we delay?' He then made this vow: 'Until we attack him, whatever we take, whether food or water, is as unlawful as a carcass.' Saying this, he got up, mounted on his horse,

78. Saran and Champarn are two district towns in the Bihar State. They were two separate administrative units, called *Sarkar-i-Sāran* and *Sarkar-i-Champaran*.



exclaiming '*bismillāh*, (in the name of God). All the people advised him not to be so hasty, as the breath of the river was seven *krohs*. He replied: 'Even if it be seventy *krohs* (I shall not mind). I have taken a vow upon myself, come what may?' Having said it he plunged his horse into the water. In some places his horse gained footing on the bottom: in others (where it was deeper) it had to swim. His own contingent also followed him in the same manner.

Haibat *Khān*, Bahādūr *Khān* and Ikhtiyār *Khān* Karrānī were also among the nobles belonging to his clan. As they heard of Maghūlā's action, they also plunged into the stream. However, the whole army rose and followed their example, causing uproar all around. Mī'ān Hūsain who was in his *sarāpardā*, asked: 'What is this uproar about.' He was told that all the Karrānī nobles have plunged into the stream. First Maghūlā plunged into the river, and after him everyone who heard about his action followed him. The Mī'ān himself rode the horse immediately, plunged into the river along with the most experienced *sāwārs* and having overtaken Maghūlā in the river, said to him: 'It is advisable that we should postpone the action today. Tomorrow we shall acquire boats and then easily go across the river, Maghūlā answered: 'I have nothing to do with what is advisable. You maintain me for service and this is the time to do service. You go back in safety. I am performing my duty. When the servant fails to do the job, then the master should take up the trouble upon himself.' Although he was much dissuaded, he would not listen to anything. Mī'ān Hūsain was thus obliged to follow him.

At sunset they reached near the fortress in which the Rājā had taken his residence. The Rājā was so confident of the safety of the fort on account of the wide river flowing near it that he thought that no one could cross it even in an year's time. Suddenly an uproar arose in the city and people started running in confusion. When the news were reported to the Rājā, who was busy in the *Tā'lim-Khānā* (dance-hall) witnessing a dance performance, he refused to believe it and remained engrossed in pastime. In the meanwhile the Afghāns came upon him and he fled away for his life. By the will of



God, that day Maghūlā attained to martyrdom. Mī'ān Hūsain greatly lamented his death and said: 'If there had been no victory today, (it would have been better), for it (the victory) and the booty combined are no compensation for Maghūlā's death.' Verse ! Man who reigned supreme in the land was struck by the arrow and bled.

For twenty-two years no calamity had befallen that territory. All the royal riches and treasures, accumulated in twenty-two years' time were given to plunder. How far should I describe it? The shoes of the infidels who were killed in this action were collected by Shaikh Dā'ud Kambo, the *Shiqqdār*<sup>79</sup> of Mī'ān Hūsain; and when melted into fire, they yielded gold valued at twenty thousand *mohūrs* (gold coins). The revenue of the territory may be guessed on the basis of this.

### Masnad-i-'ālī Dariyā Khān Nūhānī

*Masnad-i-'ālī* Dariyā Khān Nūhānī was the *Mūqtā'* of Bihār. The defence of the (eastern) border, touching Bengāl, Orissā and Tīrhūt was his responsibility. He was very brave, chivalrous and a lion-hearted man, and had displayed undaunted valour in many actions. First, soon after the departure of Sūltān Sikandar (from Jaunpur in 1496), twenty-two *Umara* had risen into rebellion. Nobody could take a stand against them in the region except Jamāl Khān Sārang<sup>79</sup> khānī and Daryā Khān who had strengthened their positions in Jaunpūr and Bihar (cities) respectively. Soon afterwards Sūltān Hūsain Sharqī fell upon Bihār (town). Dariyā Khān came out from the fort, fought against him, passed the night on the battlefield and retired to the fort the next morning. Sūltān Hūsain Sharqī, who was there, decided to lay siege to the fort. When he moved towards the fort (for its investment), Dariyā Khān put up a strong resistance to him. In the direction where

79. During the Lodī and the Sūr periods, the *shiqqdār* was the officer-in-charge of a *parganā* and charged with the duty of maintaining peace and order as well as the collection of revenue in the unit. cf. *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, pp. 140-46, for details.



Dariyā Khān found the enemy delivering his assault, he broke the wall, rallied out and returned after having repulsed the attackers and inflicted severe losses on them. (Being impressed by Dariyā Khān), Sūltān Hūsain did justice by paying him the compliment: 'What type of man is Dariyā Khān? What a courage he has got that we devise all sorts of means to pull out a brick from the wall while he himself breaks the wall of the fort, rushes out, although his King is five hundred *krohs* away from this place'. The siege lasted for two months. On the arrival of reinforcement from the King (Sikandar Lodi) Sūltān Hūsain lost hope of victory and went away (to Bengāl, where he had got shelter).<sup>80</sup>

On Sūltān Sikandar's death, the King of Bengal and the Rājā of Orissā collected their armies and decided to advance on Bihār. Dariyā Khān got information about their hostile preparation and said: 'Sūltān Sikandar had (always) been in his place (Capital) but I have always been here. It makes no difference if the Sūltān is dead; I am still alive and the same man (as before). Go, and pitch two tents, one facing the direction of Bengāl and the other on the side of Orissā'. When this became known to the enemies, none of them moved from his region (against him).

Verses:<sup>81</sup>

With such a *Wazir* of such a King;  
 Why can't the world enjoy wide-spread peace.  
 What a wonderfull age this is;  
 People are prosperous, there is festivity and  
 Merry-making in every house.  
 No one nurses feelings of hatred against another person,  
 Nor does anyone entertain the thought of mischief even in  
 his dream,  
 The Muslims are dominant; the Hindus obedient,

80. On the occupation of Bihar by Sūltān Sikandar Lodi in 1496, Sūltān Hūsain Sharqi got refuge in Bengal where he seems to have died, some time afterwards.

81. These verses have been taken from Amīr Khusrāu's *quasidā* (eulogy), composed in the praise of Sūltān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī. Mushtaqi quotes them in praise of Sūltān Sikandar Lodi because his entire reign was also marked by peace and tranquillity.



The very name of the Mughal<sup>82</sup> is not heard of.  
The King is possessed of wisdom and grandeur.  
Like a mountain having so its as well as pearls.  
He is a king like a second Zulqarnain (Alexandar the Great),  
Therefore, beyond doubt he is the Second.

82. The invaders in India from Central Asia after its occupation by the Mongols are contemptuously mentioned by the Indian writers Mongols or Mughals. Even Timiur and Shah Rukh's governor of Kabul, Sheikh Ali are mentioned Mughals. Since the Timurid Empire was in decline after the death of Shah Rukh north India remained free from any invasion by a Timurid Prince till 1519. cf I. H. Siddiqui, Influence and Prestige of the Sultan of Delhi in India and the Neighbouring Countries, with special Reference to Central Asia-15th Century, *Central Asiatic Journal*, Wiesbaden, 1985, vol. 29, No. 1-2, pp. 98-110.



### CHAPTER III

## Account of Sūltān Ibrāhīm Lodī's Reign

As the reign of Sūltān Sīkandar came to an end (A.D. 1517), Sūltān Ibrāhīm succeeded him on the throne. First he ill-treated his brothers. Sūltān Jalāl-ud'Dīn who was his real brother and with whom he had come to an understanding about the division of the Empire into two parts. One part was to be given to him. He violated that agreement.<sup>83</sup> He exiled him and imprisoned other brothers in the fort of Hīṣār Fīrozā. He unreasonably put Mī'ān Bhū'ā to death. He summoned 'Āzam Hūmāyūn (Sarwānī) from Gwalior and threw him into prison where he passed away. The fact about 'Āzam Hūmāyūn is like this :

He supervised the siege operations against Gwalior in such a way that the besieged (ruler) surrendered it with all humility. He was called from there. (Thereupon) all the nobles and soldiers (in Gwalior) came to him and said: 'The

83. Since Mūshṭāqī was not favourably disposed towards Sūltān Ibrāhīm for his destruction of his certain patrons, he blames the Sūltān for many things instead of the nobles. According to the author of the *Tabāqāt-i-Akbarī* and the *Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī*, the old nobles forced Sūltān Ibrāhīm to agree to the division of the Empire between him and his younger brother, Jalāl Khan, the *mūqtā'* of Kālpī because they could benefit by weakening the central power and getting upper hand over the rival Sūltāns. *Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī*, i-233. *Tārīkh-i-Akbarī*, i/341.



Sūltān has summoned you for arrest; you should not go there.' He replied: 'I have committed no sin.' Soon it was ascertained that he was being summoned for this very purpose (imprisonment). The soldiers again suggested: 'You command fifty thousand *sawars*. It is advisable for you to fall into a dangerous trap? It is proper and advisable that the *Khūtbā* should be read in your name.' He said: 'I cannot do it as I have been serving them (the Lodi Sūltāns) for three generations. I do not know how long I shall survive. I do not like to be called as one who had not been true to his salt.' Then the '*ulamā*' came to him and unanimously justified rebellion (against the Sūltān) in the light of the religious traditions, but he refused to agree to their proposal.

As he started from Gwalior, his officers and soldiers followed him but he turned all of them back. Reaching the bank of Chambal, he did not enter the boat until everyone of his men had not turned back. When he reached the vicinity of Agrā, an ordinary pony was brought to him and he was told: 'The order is that you should ride on this pony'. He at once came down from his own horse and rode the pony. People, who were in his company, said: 'Still nothing has happened; if you desire, we shall take you away in safety.' He answered; 'Friends: You should remove this thought about me from your minds. I have risked my life in the service of his father and grandfather. I do not want to earn a bad name towards the end of my life. Praise to God, till now I have done no wrong to his dynasty. Even now I shall not wish anything except his good and welfare. It is not known as to how long I shall survive. I do not want to be accused of disloyalty towards the close of my career. If he entertains ill-will towards me, he would be accountable for it before God.'

On his arrival at the court, he was chained on the very day and thrown into prison. The only message that he conveyed to Sūltān Ibrāhīm was: Whatever you were capable of doing, you have done. But it is my request that you order the supply of water for ablution and clay for cleaning urine to me. (As regards) my son, Islām *Khan*, he is a turbulent person, you should immediately take some step (against him)



before people join him.' Thereafter, he neither sent any *arzdāsh*t (petition) nor spoke (about the Sūltān) so long as he remained alive in prison. He passed away to the Paradise (in prison).

Sūltān Ibrāhīm threw many nobles into prison, such as Fath Khān, son of 'Āzam Hūmāyūn (Sarwani), Sa'id Khān Lodi<sup>84</sup> and Kabir Khān Lodi. The Sūltān wanted to imprison the son<sup>85</sup> of Daulat Khān Lodi who had arrived from Lahore to attend upon him. But he got inkling of it and fled away. At the same time, certain other nobles fled away. For instance, Sa'id Khān Lodi, Khān-i-Jahān Lodi<sup>86</sup>, Mī'ān Hūsain Farmulī and Mī'ān Mā'rūf Farmulī became apprehensive about their future; they united and organised themselves in the eastern *vilayets* and rebelled against the Sūltān. The Sūltān also turned hostile to *Masnad-i-'Āli Dariya* Khān, the *Wazir*<sup>87</sup>,

84. Sa'id Khān Lodi was the son of Mubārak Khān Lodi Yusuf Khail, the *Mūqtā'* of Lucknow. On Mubārak Khān's death, Ahmad Khān, his eldest son succeeded to him as the *Mūqtā'* of Lucknow. In 1509, Sa'id Khān succeeded in poisoning Sikandar Lodi's years against his elder brother and was allowed to take over the government of Lucknow *sarkār* in place of Ahmad Khān. The latter was charged of falling under the influence of the Hindu *jogis* and imprisoned. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, i/332.
85. The name of Daulat Khān's son, mentioned by other medieval writers, is Dilāwar Khān. He was sent by his father to the royal court on his behalf. *Tārīkh-i-Shāhi*, Ahmad Yadgār, Bib. Ind. pp. 87-88.
86. Ahmad Khān, the eldest son of Khān-i-Jahān Lodi whom Sūltān Ibrāhīm seems to have honoured with the title of his father Khān i-Jahān was one of the royal favourites. But his younger brother upon whom Sūltān Sikandar had conferred the title of 'Āzam Hūmāyūn Lodi was the person to rebel against Sūltān Ibrāhīm. He joined Islām Khān Salwānī in Kara along with other rebels. Mūshtāqī has confused 'Āzam Hūmāyūn Lodi with Khān-i-Jahān.
87. In certain inscriptions, found on the buildings in Bihar, Daryā Khān Nūhānī, has been mentioned as *Wazir*. It seems that it was an honourable title while the post of *Wazir* was held by Khawwās Khān and his descendents, Mī'ān Bhūa and Dilāwar Khān from the reign of Sikandar Lodi down to the fall of Ibrāhīm. cf. *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, p. 43.



who was posted in Bihār. He sent instigating letters to the nobles under him to the effect that they should arrest Dariyā Khān and bring him alive or dead to the court. Dariyā Khān got information about the matter (and became cautious). When the nobles involved in the plot came to know about its leakage, they fled away from Bihār. Two of these nobles went to Agrā. Husain Khān, who lived on the border of Bihār with six thousand *sawārs* and three hundred elephants took all of them with him to Agrā. Kamāl Khān Kambo who did not have many people, belonging to his own clan (*qaum*) could bring a few with him (to Agrā).

In Bihār Dariyā Khān was busy with military preparation for his defence where, by the will of God, he passed away. His son, Bahār Khān succeeded to him (in Bihār). The nobles who had fled away from Sultān Ibrahim out of the fear, joined Bahār Khān. In this way he collected more than one lac *sawārs*. They declared him King with the title of Sultān Mūhammad. The region from Bihār up to Sambhal<sup>88</sup> slipped under his control, and he had the *Khūṭbā* read in his name there for two years and a few months.

Being informed about this development (in Bihār), Sultān Ibrahim deputed Mī'ān Mūṣṭafā Farmūlī, the son-in-law of Mī'ān Mūhammad Farmūlī, Firoz Khān (Lodī) Sārang-Khānī<sup>89</sup> and other nobles at the head of a large army against the rebels (of Bihar). Mī'ān Mūṣṭafā was assigned the *Maḥals* (*iqtā*) of Mī'ān Mūhammad. As they reached the frontier of Bihār, they fought fierce battles there. Mī'ān Mūṣṭafā laid Ghāzipūr

88. It seems that the rebels of Bihār had seized some area near the border of the extensive *sarkār* of Sambhal. The *sarkār* of Sambhal continued to be governed by Mī'ān Qāsim of Sambhal till Babur seized it from him.

89. The inscription on his tomb furnishes valuable information about Firoz Khān. He died in Babur's reign and his tomb was completed in Panipat in 1528. The inscription calls him the son of *Masnad-i-'Alī Ahmad Khān*, son of *Masnad-i-'Alī Jamāl Khān* (Lodī Sārang Khānī). Thus he was the brother of *Khān-i-'Āzam Lād Khān*, who held Jaunpūr as its *Mūqtā'* during the reign of Ibrahim Lodī.



waste ; Naṣīr Khān Nūḥānī (the *mūqtā*) was driven away. He went to Sūltān Mūḥammad in Bihar. Mī'ān Mūsṭafā (also) entered Bihār and encamped on the bank of the river Sone where he fell seriously ill and passed away soon afterwards. But Fīroz Khān Sārang Khānī and Shaikh Bāyazīd, the brother of Mī'ān Mūsṭafā continued to fight. The army of Sūltān Mūḥammad (Nuhani, son of Dariya Khān) crossed the river Sone all of a sudden and proceeded against them. They also got information about their rival's movement and started to oppose them. They followed the rival army up to Kānpūr. There they found Faṭḥ Khān, son of 'Āzam Hūmāyūn (Sarwānī) and Naṣīr Khān in the command of the army. A fierce battle took place between them (and the rebels). (Bāyazīd and Fīroz Khān) divided their army into two parts, one part was placed under the command of Fīroz Khān Sārang Khānī while the other was led by Shaikh Bāyazīd himself. As regards the rival army, it was also divided into two parts, one under Faṭḥ Khān facing Bāyazīd while Naṣīr Khān led the second part. The large river (Ganges) was between the rival forces. Shaikh Bāyazīd succeeded in crossing the river before Faṭḥ Khān reached its bank and charged him, thinking that both the commanders (of the rival army) were together. Faṭḥ Khān could not stand against him and took to flight. Shaikh Bāyazīd pursued him and plundered Kānpūr, and his followers dispersed after they had captured the booty.

On the other side, Naṣīr Khān firmly stood on the ground with his flag pitched in the ground. The nobles of the King who were posted against him (Under the Command of Fīroz Khānī Sarang Khānī) had secret understanding with him and taken to flight. Naṣīr Khān had three hundred *sawārs* at that time while they were twenty-two nobles. All of them fled away. When Shaikh Bāyazīd got the news that Fīroz Khān and the entire army under him fled away, he turned (towards Naṣīr Khān) and moved with only a few followers as most of them had dispersed, although some new men joined him. As he went ahead, he found Naṣīr Khān standing victorious. However,



Bayazid's men caught hold of the bridle of his horse and turned him away from that place. He recited the verse :

When thou findest friends deserting,  
Consider thy retreat from the battle-field a blessing.

Shortly afterwards Sūltān Mūḥamad (Nuhani) departed from this mortal world to the immortal one, and amongst the nobles of Sūltān Ibrāhīm, Firoz Khān also passed away. Shaikh Bāyazid arrived in Bhojpūr<sup>90</sup>. The army (under Faṭḥ Khān and Naṣīr Khān) reached the Ganges where they got information about Daulat Khān Lodī's alliance with Babur Bādshāh, and the latter's march (into India) after he had ascertained the fact of the weakness of Sūltān Ibrāhīm owing to the conflict between him and his nobles. (Soon later) Bābur defeated and killed Sūltān Ibrāhīm, while Daulat Khān died, as is well-known.

90. Bhojpūr was a *parganā* headquarters, included in the *sarkār* of Qanauj during the Lodi period. In the *Mughal* period also it remained a part of Qanauj *sarkār* as its description in the '*Āin-i-Akbarī* shows.



## CHAPTER IV

# Reign of Bābur Badshah

Since (most of) the nobles and the soldiers of the Sūltān were in a state of rebellion, the army of Sūltān Ibrāhīm was defeated after a severe encounter and much fierce fighting. The Sūltān fought in person and making display of undaunted valour, tasted the cup of martyrdom (May the mercy of God be upon him). Most of his army was put to death. Others took to flight. After a few days the Bādshāh (Babur) entered Agrā. The officers and the grandees of the *vilayet*, who had fled away, owing to the fear of Sūltān Ibrāhīm but were, in fact, good-natured, all of them bowed down in obedience to him (Bābur). The family-members of Sūltān Ibrāhīm and the treasures were in Agrā. The men inside the fort also paid allegiance and surrendered to him. Having settled this affair, the Bādshāh sent Mīrzā Hūmāyūn at the head of a large army to the eastern region. Shaikh Bāyazīd, who had paid allegiance, was also ordered to follow the Mīrzā.

Upon their approach to Jājmau<sup>91</sup>, the Afghāns who had been staying there fled away across the Ganges. The Mīrzā entered the fort and deputed Shaikh Bāyazīd to chase the fugitive Afghāns. The Shaikh swiftly moved with the Six hundred *sawārs* who were with him at the time. He covered twenty—two *krohs* on the very first day, and continued his

91. It was a *pargana* attached to the *vilayet* of Karā during the Lodī period. It is now a part of the large city of Kanpur. In medieval times Jājmau and Kanpur were two separate *parganās* and the former was larger and more important than the latter.



uninterrupted march up to the place, situated along the river Kodī (Gomti) in the direction of Mānikpūr where the Afghāns had assembled (after their panicky retreat from Jājmau).

In Mānikpur the Afghāns heard of the advance of Shaikh Bāyazīd and sent a spy to inquire about him and strength of the force under him. At night time the spy reached the camp of Shaikh Bāyazīd. About the same time Mirza Ali, one of the officers of Mī'ān Bāyazīd whom the latter had sent to Bhander for shifting his family from Bhānder Bhojpūr came back and joined his master. He came to Bāyazīd after he had conducted the family safely to Bhojpūr. On his arrival, everyone in the camp said rejoicing: 'Mirza has also come'. Having heard the name Mirza, the spy returned to the Afghāns, and told them: 'Shaikh Bāyazīd is encamping at such a place and Mīrza had also reached there just before I had reached his (Bāyazīd's) camp'. As they heard the name of Mīrzā, they lost courage. They thought that His Highness (Hūmāyūn) Mīrzā had come there. They ran away precipitately. After a few days they proceeded to Jaunpūr.

Two or three days later Hadrat Mīrzā (Hamayun) deputed then four nobles to Jaunpūr in advance. They reached the vicinity of Jaunpūr by forced marches where they were jointed by Shaikh Bāyazīd soon after. They left Jaunpūr behind and started preparation (for its siege). At the same time Mīrzā Hūmāyūn also came over there. Humayun's arrival unnerved the Afghāns. Again, they humbled themselves and leaving their baggage in Jaunpūr; they fled away at midnight. In the morning, the Mīrzā (Hūmāyūn) marched to Ghāzīpūr. On the way he got information about Naṣir Khān Nūḥānī who was present in Ghazīpūr. He left Shaikh Bāyazīd on the bank of the Ganges to wait there till the arrival of the main army. After it, he himself crossed the river and proceeded to Kharīd<sup>92</sup> by forced marches. He covered the distance from Dalmāu<sup>93</sup> to Kharīd in one night

92. A town in the district of Ballia in U.P.

93. A town in the district of Rae Bareilly in U.P.



and ordered a general massacre of the people<sup>94</sup> (in Kharid). He returned from there after two or three days' stay. Shaikh Bāyazīd was posted there to bring the region under control. Sūltān Jūnaid and Shāh Hūsain were posted in Jaunpūr. Shaikh Bāyazīd was (further) ordered to shift from that place to the *Khiṭṭā* of Awadh.

During this time Hasan Khān of Mewat declared Sūltān Maḥmud, son of Sūltān Sīkandar (Lodī) as the King (of Delhi), invited the Rānā of Chittor (Rānā Sāngā), (Rai) Salāhdī<sup>95</sup>, the Afghāns and turned a rebel against the King (Bābur). Both the armies came face to face in the plain of Sikrī and confusion and chaos arose in the whole region in consequence. The roads were blocked, the movement of people and the supply of food grain from any place came to a stop, with the result that food became scarce in the army camp (of Bābur). At the same time news was received that the grandson<sup>96</sup> of Rūstam Khān Tūrkbachā, having come and occupied the fort of Kol, had started creating confusion everywhere. Bābur deputed Shaikh Ghūran<sup>97</sup> against him and also sent Shaikh Bāqī to help him. They achieved a grand victory there. The rebel, who had shut himself, was captured and sent in chains to the Emperor. Besides, two lac maunds of foodgrains, two thousand maunds of oil, and a few thousand goats along with accoutrements were sent by Shaikh Ghūran from that place to the army camp. Later he himself joined the royal camp. His Majesty (Babur) conferred the title of 'Abūl Faṭḥ' upon Shaikh Ghūran.

94. The people massacred by the order were Afghāns and their servants.
95. At this time Salāhdī (Rājput Chief) was in the occupation of the territory of Chanderī. Formerly he had served under Sūltān Ibrāhīm Lodī, as Mughṭaqi mentions his name in the account of Husain Farmull's murder.
96. His name, as mentioned by Babur is ILYĀS Khān. On being taken prisoner, he was ordered by Babur to be flayed alive. *Baburnama*, ii/576.
97. Shaikh Chūran was a local Shaikhzādā of Kol (Aligarh). He joined Babur in A.D. 1526 and was soon favoured with high promotion for his services to the Mughals.



The scarcity of fodder in the vicinity of the camp caused a great difficulty to the army. One day all the military commanders assembled to discuss as to what should be done. Mīr Khalīfāh<sup>98</sup> said: 'We have defeated the King of this country, captured the treasures and overran the whole of his country. It is now advisable that we should post garrisons in forts of this region and we should ourselves shift to Lāhore. We need not stay here (any further) as nothing has been left (undone). Again, when we come down from Lāhore, we shall do whatever will be necessary (to do)'. The Bādshāh turned his face towards Hadrat Mīrzā (Hūmāyūn). The Mīrzā said: 'His Majesty should stay in his camp. If order is given, we may begin fighting early in the morning, and see as so that would come out; if we gain victory, our purpose is fulfilled, otherwise his Majesty is safe to act afterward.'

The King addressed: 'I have fought fifty battles till now, and all of them were fought against the followers of Islam. I have to fight this battle against the infidels. Where should we go (avoiding the battle). If we achieve victory, we shall become Ghāzī (holy warriors), otherwise we shall attain to martyrdom. It never behoves us that we turn our back on the battlefield.' He recited the Fātiḥā (prayer) and rose up. Next morning, he again came (to the nobles) with the holy book (Quran) in his hand. He opened the holy book, placed it before him and then took a vow upon it (declaring): 'We shall not turn away from this battle, which is to be fought against the infidels, and if we do not stand, it will amount to our turning from the book of God.' After him the nobles and grandees placed their hands on the Qurān and decided to fight. Having prepared, they started fighting. Almighty God favoured the King of Islam with victory. The infidels took to flight.

In the eastern *vilayet*, Shaikh Bāyazīd also rebelled, joined hands with the Afghāns and invited Sūltān Mahmood (Lodī) there. They created much confusion everywhere and fought

98. Amīr Nizam-ud'Din Khalīfā, generally known as Mīr Khalīfā was Babur's *Wazir*.



(several) battles against the armies of the King (Bābur). At this time the *Bādshāh* was away, with his army, in Chanderi, engaged in siege operations against Madnī Rāī. He was defeated, taken a prisoner; and got converted to Islam<sup>99</sup>. Other prisoners were put to death. The worthless fellow Medinī Rai was found to be a renegade, therefore, he was put to death according to the holy verse of the Quran.

The King never used the water of the Ganges, and said: 'It is worshipped by the infidels and, therefore, it is not good for us to use it'. As books of history have already been compiled about his (Bābur's) life and times, I should rest content with whatever I have narrated. It is a specimen like a grain from an ass-load. It is enough for wise men.

Amongst the nobles of Hind Shaikh Ghuram was a high noble and he was raised to high position by the Bādshāh (Bābur). Many deeds were performed by him. Firstly, as I have stated above, he gained victory in Kol and having arrested the rebel, sent him to the exalted court. Secondly, he conquered the fort of Gwalior and brought the district (*Khittā*) of Sambhal under (King's) control. Everyone from amongst the Afghāns or the important grandees of the *vilayet*, who came to him, he acted as a mediator and conducted him into the royal presence, and thus got his affair settled amicably. He was known for his generosity. He maintained a huge kitchen where tasteful food preparations were made. Every one, associate, commoner, noble and ignoble, white or black, slave and freeborn, got food from his kitchen to his full satisfaction.

On the occasion of the marriage ceremony of his son, he gave over seventy thousand *tankas* to the *qawāls* (singers). On the last day of *vidāi*, (i.e. the day when the bride is taken to her husband's house), he distributed one hundred and fifty horses, four elephants and twenty ass-loads of silk to the people, by way of reward. Besides, a few lac *tankāhs* were also given away (on the same occasion).

99. This is not corroborated by the fact of history. Medinī Rā'i was no more and Babur had siezed the fort of Chanderi from his descendants in 1528.



He was an excellent musician, and had many friends. When he was in Jaunpūr in the company of the Bādshāh (Bābur), by chance he fell seriously ill. He did not take food for twenty days. Shaikh Adhan inquired from one of his men who had gone to visit him about the health of Shaikh Ghuran. He told him that there was no change in his condition. Bandagī Shaikh Adhan asked: 'Since how long is he ill?' He said that he was ill for twenty days. The Shaikh asked: 'Has he listened to music?' He replied: 'He has not listened to it during this period.' The Shaikh said: 'You have done wrong by depriving him (of this entertainment). This is the main cause of his ailment. Go and ask good singers to sing, his condition will improve.'

When this conversation was reported to Shaikh Ghūran, the singers were called there in a while. Hearing the music and melodious song, the Shaikh took to ecstasy and fainted. When he regained his senses, he was quite well, and no effect of temperature was left. He at once asked for food, took it and got up.

He himself sang songs, and possessed a melodious voice which had an impact (upon the listeners). One day he arranged a festive assembly for the celebration of spring, (*Majlis-i-Jashn-i-Bahār*) on a grand scale and the friends were present there along with expert singers and musicians. Though they sang and played on music to the best of their ability, yet none could create an ecstatic effect upon anyone present in the assembly. As he (the Shaikh) found that their music and singing is making no impact on the friends, he himself rose, sat in the centre of the assembly and sang such a pathetic *ghazal* (love poem) in such a melodious voice that everyone of the saintly guests fell in such a state of ecstasy, that their condition could not be described. The Shaikh himself got beside himself by excitement; he cried out in such a loud voice that everyone got moved and excited.



Though many gifted persons had assembled (at the court) during the reign of Sūltān Sīkandar (Lodī), yet three persons excelled in munificence and good qualities of friendship. One of them was Shaikh Ghūran, other Mī'ān Rao Sarwāni, and the third was Mūḥammad Khān of Jehtra. These three nobles never failed in doing favour to people, whether relatives, acquaintances, or strangers. I have put down whatever I have personally heard from the friends or witnessed about their wonderful qualities.



## CHAPTER V

# Humāyūn Bādshāh

When his Majesty Bābur Badshah passed away, by the will of God, from this perishable world to the immortal one, the sun of *Khilafat* (state) shone upon the head of Naṣir-ud' Dīn Mūḥammad Hūmāyūn Bādshāh of spiritual and temporal spheres both ; prosperity of people and the glory of Islam increased with (his accession to the throne). Verse :

Familiar with the reality of the mortal world  
is Mūḥammad Hūmāyūn, the Emperor and the holy warrior.

His ways were such that none of the preceding Kings comes to mind (for comparison). He was a King, known for his unprecedented learning, gnosis, large-heartedness, munificence, friendship and chivalry. From the beginning to the close of his reign, he always offered his prayers five times in congregation, and was always engaged in prayer and religious exercise. His conversation was so nice that he never addressed any person as (tū) 'thou', but '*shumā*', (a more polite and respectable word equivalent to you). He never issued order himself for the execution of any person. He always observed fast (perhaps during the month of fasting). He remained awake till midnight. He took delicious food after breaking his fast (after sun-set) ; and very often controlled the animal passions.<sup>100</sup> He was always kind and

100. Mūshṭāqī contradicts himself when he describes Hūmāyūn's arrival in Gaur where the Emperor had plunged into pleasure and reminded confined to the palace for a few months.



favourably inclined towards beggars and other helpless persons. He was very friendly towards the '*ulamā*', scholars and saints and treated them with respect and kindness.

One day he went to see Bandagī Mī'ān Qāzi Khān in Zafarābad<sup>101</sup> at the time of evening-prayer. He had a book under his arm-pit and was accompanied only by one *gaurchi* (a horse-guard). When he approached the *Bandagi*, and shook hands with him, the latter asked who he was and wherefrom had he come. He answered : 'I am a student.' He did not exhibit anything, relating to power and kingship. He also did not take any worldly thing with him owing to the regard which he had for him (the Mī'ān). The said Mī'ān was in the habit of retiring to his *hūjrā* (cell) after offering *Fard* (obligatory prayer). At this time too he retired to the *hūjrā* and, therefore, his Majesty also went away. Next morning he ordered on a paper for the grant of a one lac *tankāh's mā'-āsh* (land-grant) and sent it to him. The Qazi said : 'I do not need it. I shall accept it when I stand in need of it.'

There was another man, who had served the Badshah as *Imam* for two years. After two years somebody said that he had found him (the *imam*) in the company of the *Ahl'i-Rifd* (*Shi'ites*). He dismissed him and offered two years prayers afresh. He (the Badshah) was so favourably inclined to the *ai'ma* (religious persons, enjoying maintenance-grants) that one day Amir Hindu Beg brought it to his notice that (while) the *waza'if* (stipends) to the *ai'ma* amounted to eighteen crores (*tankāhs*), the Turks were dying of starvation. He said, (in reply) : 'I pardon you this time. I shall punish you if you again utter such words against this class (of people). I have dedicated (the revenue of) this entire country to the *ai'mā*, and we shall conquer another country for ourselves'.

101. Zafarābād was an important administrative headquarter in the 14th century. After the foundation of the city of Jaunpur by Firoz Shah, the provincial Capital was shifted from Zafarabad to the newly-founded city. It is now in the district of Jaunpur.



One day, there was a feast in the house of Shaikh Bahlūl<sup>102</sup>, and the Bādsbāh and grandees were present. Shaikh Bahlūl was seated on the right hand, Bandagī Shaikh Muḥammad on the left and Bandagī Shaikh Muḥammad on the left and Bandagī Shaikh 'Alāuddin Bukhārī was sitting in front. In the meantime Bandagī Shaikh Khalīl arrived. The King said: 'You please sit on my head', pointing to the roof, as there was a room (upstairs). He was assigned his seat upstairs. He held the people of this class in great esteem.

Upon the return of the army from Gujarāt to Agra, Amīr Hindu Beg was sent to Jaunpur (as governor). At that time Sher Khān was in Bihar. He sent a *peshkash* (offering) to the Amīr with the letter: 'I am one of the servants of the Badshah. Since you have arrived in this region, my mind is at rest. You are loyal to the King and a well-wisher of the Muslims. I hope that you will do favour to me also.'

He sent a few maunds of gold (to him) and submitted (reply):<sup>103</sup> "I have no claim to any part of the King's *vilayet*, but whatever I have seized (from the territories belonging to the *vilayet* of Bengal) may kindly be allowed to remain with me", and the fort of Chunār be given to me on *ijāra* (lease) for keeping my family-members. I shall continue to pay its revenue to the (royal) treasury. There are so many servants (of the Badshah); I too may be treated as one. I undertake to perform (royal) service with all sincerity wherever I am ordered to proceed and do it. Moreover, one

102. In other contemporary works he is mentioned as Shaikh Phool. He was a leading saint and belonged to the *Shattāri* order. Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaus of Gwalior was his younger brother. The authors of the *Gulzar-i-Abrar* and *Akhbar-ul Akhiyar* have furnished sufficient information about both the brothers.

103. Perhaps it is the part of an other letter which must have been sent in reply to Hindu Beg's letter calling explanation from Sher Khān for the aggression committed by him against Bengal without Hūmāyūn's permission. However, the author provides us here with valuable information about the correspondence carried on between Hindu Beg and Sher Khān at this juncture of time.



of my sons would always remain in attendance at the court with four thousand *sawārs*. But I shall not attend the court in person, otherwise I accept with all sincerity whatever the royal order be.

Amir Hindu Beg wrote in reply: 'If you have made up your mind to serve the *dargāh* (royal court), you should proceed to the capital in person, and I shall also recommend and do all favour to you. You come back after you have settled your affair there. It is wrong on your part to say: I shall stay here and the assignment of the *vilāyet* should be conveyed to me from (the court) in writing. This is not the way of entering (the royal) service. (The correct way is) that you come back with *Khil'at* (robe of honour) and horse after posting one of your sons there (the royal court). Besides, you have written: 'I do not claim (any part), belonging to the *vilāyet* of the *Bādshāh*, and whatever (territory) I have seized in the kingdom of Bengal, should be left with me. It is a nonsensical demand. Since the *Bādshāh* honours the country of Hindustan with his residence, he considers every part as belonging to him ;<sup>104</sup> it makes no difference, whether it is (the *vilāyet* of) Delhi, Gujarāt, the Deccan or Bengāl. But he may favour anybody with the grant (of the territory), or post one of his servants in a *vilāyet* ; this is the privilege of the *Bādshāh* and I cannot do anything in this regard. You will receive from the court whatever you have been destined for, and I shall also not fail to do favour to you'.

104. According to the 14th and the 15th centuries writers, the Sultān of Delhi was called the ruler of the whole of Hindustan. Hindu Beg seems to imply the same thing here. Saif Jam Harvi who completed his *Bayāz* (anthology) in the beginning of the 15th century in Jaunpur, comments on the panegyrical verses of a poet, composed to commemorate Sultan Firuz Shāh's victory over the Sultan of Bengal in A.D. 1358 in these words:

"The country of Lakhnauti (Bengal) always belongs to the *iqṭā's* and regions of Dār-ul Mulk Delhi. For this reason, the King of Delhi's receiving elephants from the King of Lakhnauti (as tribute) is by no means a matter of pride and it should not be eulogised". *Majmū'ā-i-Latā'if wa Safinā*, Saif Jam Harvi, Rotograph of the Ms. (British Museum), London, f. 209a.



When Sher Khān received this reply, he again wrote (to Hindū Beg) : 'I know it for certain that the posting of the Wazir (Hindu Beg) in this region will one day be followed by the coming of His Majesty. As I have tasted your salt, I do not want to be disloyal to you. I have decided that when His majesty will march (against me), I shall leave Chunār and Bihar and proceed to Bengal. As he follows me there also, I shall leave for some other place. The Bādshāh is very much careless and given to pleasure-seeking. When he comes to Gaur, he would indulge in pleasure, not caring for anything. I shall remain inactive for sometime and then I shall raise (such a confusion) in the *vilāyet* that one would not know about the other. Come what may'. It was my duty and I have done it. It is good that you have not accepted it (my offer). You would see it yourself what I have stated'.

At last, Hindu Beg wrote the *Wājib-ul-'arz* (petition) to his Majesty ; 'Here Sher Khān makes such statements that are not worthy of being reported before (the King). But his state of affairs should be guessed from the fact that at the time when we started for Gujarat, he had six thousand *sawars* (in his service), now he has seventy thousand *sawars* paying them twelve crore *tankās*<sup>105</sup> as monthly salary. (Moreover) he is raising their number day by day. If we do not proceed against him this year, the number (of his *sawars*) would considerably increase, perhaps he may himself start (against us)'. Having heard the petition of the *Amir*, His Majesty started against him.

(Upon Humayun's advance) Sher Khān evacuated the region<sup>106</sup> under his control and turned towards Bengal. When his Majesty started for Bengal, Sher Khān evacuated that *vilāyet* also, and carried away everything that he could, and left there whatever he failed to take with him.

105. The figures, twelve crore *tankas* given by Mushtaqi are fantastic. He seems to have been in the habit to exaggerate facts about the Afghan rulers.

106. Here Mushtaqi seems to imply the fort of Chunar and the territory of Bihar.



When His Majesty (Hūmāyūn) reached Gaur, he found everywhere a paradise full of fairy-faced girls and handsome maids along with the exhilarating gardens and soothing tanks. The villas and palaces were numerous and no place in the world could be compared with them in beauty or grandeur. Elegant carpets, worthy of kings, were spread everywhere. The long-necked flasks were placed in the niches in different decorative ways, and the sweet-smelling odours, such as aloe-wood, sandal (an odoriferous wood), camphor, musk, *Kiyura* (name of a plant with a strong-scented flower as well as a perfume extracted from its flower) and civet were found in abundance everywhere (in the palaces). The pillars in the palaces were made of the sandal wood and the bricks were plastered with porcelain. The fine cloth, manufactured in that country was also available in plenty and variety. (In short) the royal palace was full of every thing.

As the King arrived in (the royal) palace, he did not come out to hold his *darbar* for two months, and whatever Sher Khān had foretold, came true. In Agrā, Mirzā Muḥammad Hīndāl killed Shaikh Bahlūl on the charge that he was in league with Sher Khān, and Ulugh Mirzā also fled away from there (the prison). When the news of the murder of Shaikh Bahlūl reached the King, he came out from the palace. Much of (what followed) this affair is known. This had happened on the first occasion. When the Bādshāh came to India a second time, he defeated the Afghāns at Sirhind and reached Dār-ul Mulk Delhi. In Delhi he proclaimed: 'My only aim was to arrive in Delhi, the capital of my ancestors. I do not intend to capture any other country (territory)'. He stayed in Delhi and deputed nobles to occupy the territories (around Delhi).



## CHAPTER VI

# Accession of Akbar to the Throne

When His Majesty (Humāyūn) got martyrdom, kingship devolved upon His Majesty, the refuge of the world, Jalāl-u'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Ghāzi. The King himself was not present (in Delhi), for he was (staying) in *Mulk-i bāla Kalanaur*). As the news of the martyrdom of Humāyūn Bādshāh were reported to him, he left for Dar-ul-Mulk *Haḍrat-i-Delhi*, and ascended the throne (in Delhi). Everyone who held some place, was confirmed in his position. He rewarded the soldiers and distributed *Khilāts* among the nobles, officers and the *salāṭin* (princes born of concubines); his power and strength increased day-by-day.

Hemū, the infidel who was the enemy of Islam and had done wrong, advanced on Delhi and fought against the army of the King, stationed there. A few thousand Afghāns were killed on the battle-field and the rest fled away. The ill-starred infidel (Hemu) who was in ambush with elephants and *sawārs* at a certain place, came out swiftly at the time when the victorious (Mughal) *sawārs* were engaged in pursuit and plunder. Tardī Khān who stood firm in the centre with a few (*sawārs*), failed to stem the charge of the ferocious elephants and left his post. The nobles and the soldiers took to flight and joined His Majesty. They reported that the renowned Afghāns and some of the experienced (Mughals) soldiers were killed, while most of them fled away. Hemu, the accursed infidel, having gathered courage was



advancing with a number of elephants and a small army ; death was (as it were) bringing him dragging him by his hairs.

Tardī Beg who had run away from the battle-field was punished (killed). His Majesty, the shadow of God, having relied upon the help of God, tried to strengthen (the cause of) Islām. Hemū fell into disgrace after much fighting and this renegade and infidel was put to death. The foundation of Islam was laid down a new, and infidelity which had become dominant in every *vilāyet*, Almighty God replaced it by the ways of Islam, which have always prevailed by the efforts of Kings. This is the first victory of Jalāl-ud Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh and it has been achieved only through his good fortune. Thereafter, every noble who turned hostile (to him) was humiliated and ruined. O, God, maintain this King of ours for the service of Islām through your grace and help and fulfil every hope that he entertains.



## CHAPTER VII

# Account of the Reign of Sher Shah

May God sooth him in his grave and assign him a place in the heaven.

The fact was like this : Mi'ān Ḥasan Sūr was the servant of Jamāl Khān Lodi Sārangkhānī during the reign of Sultān Sikandar Shāh. When Naṣīb Khān,<sup>107</sup> son of the late Jamāl Khān, succeeded his father as the *Muqtā'* of Jaunpur, he raised Mi'ān Ḥasan to the status of an *amir* with a flag (*'alam*). Sahsram was his (Ḥasan Khān's) *jāgir* and he had settled down there.

None amongst the nobles of the King was a Sūr (Afghān) except Saif Khān, who was in the royal service. But even he did not hold the rank of an *amir*.<sup>108</sup> He resided in the town of Baran. The reason being that Sultān Bahlul had bequeathed a will to Sultān Sikandar : 'Do not raise anyone of the Surs (to the rank of) *amir* because they have got ambition for sovereignty, and never employ any Niāzi (Afghān) at all, as they are ungrateful persons, having no loyalty to the master.

107. At other places he has been mentioned as Aḥmad Khān, son and successor of Jamāl Khān Sārangkhānī. The available epigraphical evidence, as quoted about Firuz Khān Sarangkhānī also refers to him as *Masnad-i-'Āli* Aḥmad Khān, son of *Masnad-i-'Āli* Jamāl Khān Lodi.

108. It means that he did not hold any important rank, either of the *Malik* or Khān. Instead of calling him Miān Saif Sūr, Mushtaqi mentions him as Saif Khān Sūr. It is perhaps a mistake made by some scribe.



At that time there were a few Nī'āzis and none of them was taken in the service of the Sultān. If there was any Nī'āzi in the service, he was the servant of some noble. One of them, Lalū Khān Nī'āzi was the servant of Tāj Khān Sarangkhānī, the Muqtā' of the fort of Chunār. He was one of his (Tāj's) high officers. When Sultān Ibrāhīm arrested 'Āzam Hūmayūn Muḥammad Khān Sarwānī, he ordered Tāj Khān to march against Islām Khān, son of 'Āzam Hūmayūn (in Karā). Islām Khān had shut himself up in the fort. Tāj Khān advanced upon him at the head of six thousand *sawārs* and sent the message to him : 'This is the *farmān* of the King : Come out and submit, in case you do not accept it, you leave the *vilāyet* (Empire).' Islām Khān replied : 'If you had depatched the *farmān* and not come in person, I would have accepted it. As you have (already) arrived, I do not turn down your words. If this is the *farmān* of the King, you send it (to me) and turn back. I shall obey the *farmān*.' (Thereupon) Lalū Khān said : 'What makes Islām Khān talk so much nonsense. He has got (dyed) hands like those of a bride and talks nonsense, relying upon them. I know him fully well.' When somebody came (to Islām Khān) and narrated this remark passed by Lalū Khān, Islām Khān said : 'There is (no need of further) negotiation between them and us, what has been destined will happen tomorrow.'

Islām Khān had three hundred *sawars* while they (Tāj Khān and his officers) commanded six thousand *sawārs*. Islām Khān kept himself engaged in prayer the whole night and prayed : 'O God. If you want me to die and my days have been numbered, do not cause my death unless you turn Lalū Khān a prisoner into my hands. He has made many indecent and foul comments.'

Next morning, he offered his morning prayer early, and then came out (from the fort). There was three *krohs*' distance between the fort and the camp of Tāj Khān. Islām Khān fell upon his camp. All of a sudden, there was an uproar that Islām Khān had come. They (men of Tāj) were under the impression that he would strengthen (the defences of) the fort and would not come out. (However)



they rode their horses but Lālu Khān at once charged them but his men failed to stand him (Islām Khān). They fled away (in confusion). By chance, Lālu Khān fell down from his horse and was taken captive by the men of Islām Khān. The latter asked : 'Have you seen my hands, resembling those of a bride ?' Lālu Khān answered : 'As God wills so we act'. He retorted : "it is no use referring to the will of God, if you had remembered it on that day (when he had made fun of Islām Khān), it would have been better". He further said : "Because of that boastful and arrogant remark you are destined not to die with the blow of a sword ; nor are you worthy of that." He called the carpenter and ordered him to sever his hands and legs by an adze. He died instantaneously.

During the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm, Shaikh Farīd departed from his father and came to the Sultān in Agrā. Having drafted his petition, he brought it to the *hajibs* but none of them submitted it at the court. One day, he went to Daulat Khān,<sup>109</sup> the *naib-i-arz* and told all the facts about himself. He said to him : 'Why do you waste your energy here ? Darīyā Khān is preparing the army in Bihar, and you should go there.' Thereafter, Shaikh Farīd did not stay there. He went to Darīyā Khān. Mi'ān Nī'zām, who was his younger brother<sup>110</sup> and possessed the turban and the sword of Miān Hasan, brought both of them to him and thus acknowledged his claim to his father's place. Then they went to Darīyā Khān who showed much consideration and did favour to them. He said (to Farīd) : 'I assign the fort

109. In his account of 'Āzam Hūmayūn Sarwānī Mushtāqī mentions him as one of the officers, holding the rank of 4,000 *sawars* in his ('Āzam Hūmayūn Sarwānī's ) service. According to Abbās Sarwānī Daulat Khān was won over by Sultān Ibrāhīm after the imprisonment of 'Āzam Hūmayūn Sarwānī and soon became his favourite. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shāhī*, f. 22a.

110. This statement of Mushtāqī seems to have been based on false traditions. Here 'Abbās' statement that Farīd Sūr entered Sultān Muḥammad Nuḥānī's (son of Darīyā Khān Nuḥānī) service after the fall of Sultān Ibrāhīm is correct.



of Chaund to you, provided you can seize it.<sup>111</sup> At this time, Chaund was held by Muḥammad Khān Sūr, one of the nobles of the King.

Shaikh Farīd accepted the assignment and marched towards the fort of Chaund. Darīyā Khān deputed one or two other nobles to reinforce him. When they reached near the fort of Chaund, Muḥammad Khān came out to give battle. But he was defeated. Shaikh Farīd joined Darīyā Khān after he had gained this victory.

One day, Darīyā Khān ordered Daulat Khān Nuḥānī, son of his uncle, to lead a military expedition.<sup>112</sup> He expressed his unwillingness to do the job. Upon it Darīyā Khān asked (the servant) to see whether there was any person at the gate. As he came out, he found only Shaikh Farīd present there. (On being informed about him), Darīyā Khān said 'Conduct him inside.' As Shaikh Farīd entered his presence, Darīyā Khān said: 'I (decided) to entrust a work to Daulat Khān but he refused to undertake (this responsibility). I depute you and if you carry on this expedition successfully, I shall grant you the title of the father of Daulat Khān.' The title of Daulat Khān's father was Sher Khān.<sup>113</sup> When Shaikh Farīd went on the military expedition, he gained victory, returned to Darīyā Khān, and got the title of Sher Khān.

Upon Darīyā Khān's death, Bahār Khān (son of Darīyā Khān) succeeded him. The nobles, who had turned hostile to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, joined him. In this way a large army under various nobles rallied round him, and he assumed the title of Sulṭān Muḥammad, and the *Khutba* was read in his name, as already stated. Sher Khān was appointed his deputy (*Peshwā*).

111. This event also took place after the battle of Panipat in A.D. 1526 cf. *History of Sher Shah Sūr*, pp. 25-26.

112. Farīd Sūr was deputed against Muḥammad Khān Sūr who was unwilling to join Sulṭān Muḥammad Nuḥānī. Cf. *History of Sher Shah Sūr*.

113. Sher Khān Nuḥānī was the younger brother of Mubārak Khān Nuḥānī, the father of Darīyā Khān. He was killed by the rebel Rajput zamindars of Karā in A.D. 1495. *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani*.



One day, Sultān Muḥammad asked (the servants) inside the palace to see whether anybody was present in the audience hall (*Daulat Khānā*). The servants came out and found none except Sher Khān who was offering *namāz-i-chāshī* (forenoon prayer) at that time. They informed him of the presence of Sher Khān. The Sultān called him inside and said : 'You have seized Sahsram and Chaund. Now you offer *namāz-i chāshī*. Do you want to seize my Bihār also ?' Sher Khān tied a knot in his belt and said : 'The day you become the King of Delhi, I shall be given Bihar'.

After some time Sultān Muḥammad passed away, and Sher Khān began to plan the capture of Bihār (for himself) in some way. It is well-known that within a short time he brought Bihār under his control. As he had established his effective control over Bihār, he decided to turn to Bengal. He always kept four hundred *sawārs* (mounted cavaliers), fully equipped and ready at his gate (for march), while other four hundred (*sawārs*) were already away on raiding expedition. As they came back, the four hundred *sawārs*, (kept ready) moved to carry on plunder (in the neighbouring region of Bengal). This continued throughout the day ; one party returned and the other advanced. At night also these raids were carried on.

The King of Bengāl deputed Qūṭb (Khān) Shahzādā, one of the associates of Sultān 'Alā-u'd Din, against the *vilāyet* of Bihār.<sup>114</sup> Sher Khān employed the same tactics against his camp. Driven to straits, Qūṭb Khān rode his horse and set out to fight. Sher Khān did not face him. He turned away from the direction in which Qūṭb Khān chased him, so that he may come out further in pursuit ; and this was repeated several times. Qūṭb Khān Shahzādā thought that he did not possess enough strength to face the challenge and that is why he was running away under this impression. He decided to drive him away from the territory of Bihar. When he chased him in one direction, Sher Khān (after having charged it)

114 This event seems to have taken place in the year 1532-33 as the events of Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh's reign suggest. Cf. *History of Sher Shah Sūr*, pp. 38-39, for details.



soon appeared in the opposite direction ; the raiding party of his *sawārs* charged the enemy. Having harassed him (in this way), one day they organized themselves and made a surprise attack on (Quṭb Khān's) army. Quṭb's army was not in a battle-array (at this time) ; his followers had already been demoralised and seized with panic. They fled away. But Quṭb Shahzada stood firm on the battle-field and obtained martyrdom by the will of God. When Sher Khān found him dead, he came down from the horse, placed his head upon his knee and burst into tears. He buried him with all funeral rites and thus repeated the story of Alexandar and Darius.

After some time he seized the territory of Bengal and then proceeded to its capital. He passed from Tirhut and took to an untraversed route and having rushed through the jungle appeared before Gaur all of a sudden. That story (capture of Gaur) is well-known. In Bengal also he became victorious, and occupied it.

(Upon Sher Khān's occupation of Bengal) His Majesty Muḥammad Humāyūn Ghāzi proceeded to Bengal. Sher Khān evacuated the fort of Chunar and avoided encounter with him. During these days he was called Hazrat-i-'Ālā.<sup>115</sup> As His Majesty went ahead from the fort of Chunar, Sher Khān also moved along the foothills. When he reached the vicinity of the fort of Garhī, he hastily entered the fort and busied himself with the strengthening of its defences. Having posted his son, Jalāl Khān with an army at the pass (of Garhi) to defend it, Sher Khān left for Gaur.

Humāyūn deputed Jahāngīr Quli with twenty thousand *sawars* to Garhī after he had received information (about Jalāl Khān). A fierce battle took place between the two armies and the Mughals had to retreat. Jalāl Khān stayed with his army in Garhī. Sher Khān had the wealth of Gaur, such as fine textile fabrics and treasures loaded and then left

115 Mushtaqi did not know that Sher Khān Sūr had already declared himself a King by issuing the coin in his name. He invaded Bengal in 1535-6 as an independent King and forced the Sulṭān of Bengal to acknowledge him as his overlord. Shaikh Kabir provides us with valuable information about the treaty signed between Sher Shāh and the Sulṭān of Bengal. cf. *History of Sher Shah Sur*.



Gaur. Jalāl Khān also left (Garhī) after three days. When this information about the departure of Jalāl Khān from Garhī reached the army camp of His Majesty, the agents were sent to gather intelligence. They returned with the information that Sher Khān had gone away from Gaur. His Majesty started by forced marches and entered Gaur. (At this time) Sher Khān started making effort to do about what he had already given warning to Amir Hindū Beg. (Here Mushtāqui refers to Sher Shah's letter, addressed to Hindu Beg already quoted). His Majesty indulged in pleasure and merry-making, so much so that he did not allow anyone to make salutation (*kurnish*) for two months.<sup>116</sup>

During this period (of Humāyūn's indulgence), Sher Khān carried on raids and humiliated Ulugh Beg Mirzā who had got separated from the King's army. Muḥammad Hindāl Mirzā returned from (Bengal) to Agrā. Sher Khān swiftly moved from Bharkhāndā<sup>117</sup> and entered Awadh after a day and night's march. This (event) too, is well known. At last, His Majesty left Gaur after he had received the news of the murder of Shaikh Bahlūl. , Much of it is already known.

As Sher Khān gained victory in the battle (over Humāyūn at Chausā), he assumed the title of Shāh 'Ālam, had the *chatr* (umbrella) opened and got the *Khutbā* read in his name.

### Reign of Sher Shāh

During his reign, (Sher Shāh) performed many (good) deeds and arranged various affairs afresh ; constructed forts, resumed the land-grants of the *a'imā* (*ulama*, *Mashā'ikh*, Saiyids etc.) and then made grants on his own part. Every one, no matter, important or unimportant, who paid visit to him, did not turn back empty-handed. He was given

116. Jauhar Aftābchī also makes the similar statement about Humayun's indulgence in Gaur. *Tazkirat-ul Waqiat*, Ms. Subhanullah Collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.

117. This was a fort, constructed by Sher Khān in the Vindhyachal range.



something. Five hundred tolas of gold, per day, was fixed for running the kitchen (*langar*) for the beggars; food was cooked there day and night and distributed among them. He settled allowances upon the blind and helpless everywhere in the villages, as well as in the cities. The two *kārkhānās*, (departments), one relating to the construction work, and the other, *langar-i-Fuqrā* (or kitchen for the beggars) were kept up (running) without any interruption even on a holiday, for these two departments were meant for the good of the general public.

The royal kitchen was also (a) large (establishment), for several thousand persons were always fed there. At every time, any person who felt like eating, he went to the royal kitchen and took his meal, this was the (royal) order. (Sher Shāh) himself used to take his meals in the company of the '*ulamā* and the *mashā'ikh*.

There was so much peace and security in the Empire that from the day he became the king, theft or highway robbery was not committed anywhere. If it occurred (anywhere), the *muqaddams*<sup>118</sup> of the village around (the spot) were arrested and the restitution for the robbery was extracted from them. The owner of (the stolen goods) was fully compensated. Consequently, the *muqaddams* became cautious. He built *serāis* at every *kroh* (along the highways) from Gaur to the frontiers of his Empire in all the four directions. Earthen jars were placed separately for the Muslims and Hindus at the gate of each *Serāi*. At every *serāi* he got a mosque, a house for the King and a well constructed; and to every mosque a muazzin (crier) and an *imām* were appointed, while *shiqqdār* was posted as incharge of the *serāi*. They were allotted lands at the same place for their maintenance.

He constructed a road from Gaur to the river Indus. Along this road *Serāis* were constructed, and gardens and shady and fruit-bearing trees were laid out. Another road, with gardens and *serāis*, was constructed from Rohtas to the frontier of Mandū near Burhanpur; the third road, with *serāis* and

118. The *zamindārs*, possessing one or two villages were generally called *muqaddam*.



gardens, from Agra to Jodhpūr. Another road from Jaunpur to Bayana and Ajmer. The *serdis* constructed (by this order) numbered up to one thousand and seven hundreds. There were kept two horses ready in every *serdi*, with the result that information could travel up to three hundred *krohs* in a day.

Once, Husain Khān *Tashtdār*, having gathered intelligence in Gaur, started (on his journey to the royal camp). He went on travelling day and night for three days. Whenever sleep overcame him, he lay down on a cot (*chārpā'i*), and his men carried him along on their shoulders. As he awoke, he again mounted the horse and went on his way. In this way he covered the distance from Gaur to Chittor in three days. You may guess (from this) as to how much distance was covered. Thus, his order was carried on in his presence and absence alike, he was himself busy day and night with the affairs of his country. He never kept himself unengaged.

He got up at the end of the night, took his bath and offered prayer. After it, he called in the '*ahdedārāns* and *kārkūns* (officers and secretaries) and asked them about all the occurrences of the day. He heard the papers (reports) about everything whether it was related to the *vilāyet* or the royal *Karkhānās* in full details for four hours. The orders which he gave for the next day were put down by the secretaries on papers and carried out accordingly. There was no need of further consultation. He kept himself thus engaged in the work till the time of morning prayer (*namaz-i-Fajr*) and then offered prayers in a large congregation. When he had offered the prayer, he recited *aurād* and other prayers.

Afterwards, he received the salutation from the nobles and the soldiers. Thereupon, he enquired whether the men (nobles) had come for the *dagh* (to have their horses branded). Being told that they had already assembled (for the purpose), he came out and himself inspected and mustered the soldiers. He personally fixed the allowances of everyone. Then he ordered the *mal-o kharāj* (state revenue) sent from any territory to be brought in his presence and had it audited. The petitions received from different territories



were also seen by him at this time, and replies were dictated. He dictated the replies in Persian and the scribe committed them to writing. Everyone who came to meet him was received at the same place.

He kept treasures and army ready in every city and fort so that, if necessity required, the same army and treasure might be used. The main treasure was kept in Rohtas under the charge of *Ikhfīyār Khān Batīnī*.<sup>119</sup> In the country of Gakkhars he built an extensive and impregnable fort upon the top of a hill and gave it also the name of Rohtās. He kept sufficient treasure and a large force there under the (joint) command of three great nobles, *Masnad-i-‘Āli Khawwās Khān*, *Haibat Khān Nī‘āzī* and *‘Isā Khān Nī‘āzī*. Some other nobles were (also) stationed there under them.

He had 3000 elephants in his *philkhānā* (stable for elephants) and this number increased day-by-day. In the whole *vilayet* under his control, there were thirteen thousand *parganās*, for which *shiqqdārs* were appointed. He maintained very large army, composed of different types of fighters. The infantry man or the *sawār*, whosoever came was employed. He had twenty-five thousand footmen and *toofangdārs* (matchlock-men) under his personal command; seven thousand *toofangdārs* were stationed in the fort of Māndū, three thousand *toofangdārs* at Chittor, one thousand and six hundred in the fort of Ranthambore, five hundred in the fort of Bayānā, one thousand *toofangdārs* in the fort of Gwalior and two thousand footmen, adept in archery, in the fort of Rohtās, the old.<sup>120</sup> Similarly, there was stationed a garrison (consisting of *sawārs* and footmen) in every fort. Besides, he always had one lac and fifty thousand (150,000) *sawārs* under his personal command, some of them were allowed to go on leave while others came and took up their place. In every *parganā* (all the *parganās* numbered to one

119. He was the officer-in-charge of the fort of Rohtās and the territory attached to it.

120. The fort of Rohtās in Bihār was called Rohtās-i-Kalān, so that it might be distinguished from the fort of Rohtās in the Gakkhar region (Punjab).



lac and thirteen thousands) he appointed a *shiqqdar*, a *munşif*, a *khazanadar*, a *munşif-i-khazana*, a Persian writer and a Hindvi writer.<sup>121</sup> In every *sarkar* there were a *shiqqdar-i-shiqqdārān*<sup>122</sup> and a *munşif-i-munşifān*. At the time of (horse) branding everyone came from every place, showed his weapons and accoutrements and rendered his account. For checking the branding of horses in the armies posted on the frontiers, he appointed *munşifs*. When he happened to be in the vicinity of such areas, he did the checking personally.

He stationed one army in the upper country (*Mūlk-i-Bālā*)<sup>123</sup> as has already been mentioned, one army in Mulk-i-Bangālā, one army at Rohtās, one in Mulk-i-Malwā, one in the fort of Chittor, one in Khajwara (Khajurā'o), one in the vilayet of Handiya,<sup>124</sup> one in Nagaur, and one at Jodhpur. In short, no fort was without an army and the commander.

The system of branding the horses, introduced by him, was : that he would not pay salary or allowances to anyone even in his *harem* (family) without having their horses branded. Even the sweepers had to have their descriptive rolls (*dāgh*) recorded (in the official papers). One day, when he (Sher Shah) was inspecting horse-branding, a man turned up, riding a Tazi horse. Sher Shāh fixed four *Badrāhs* as his monthly salary. His Holiness Shaikh *Khalil* was present there. He said (to the King): 'He is such a youthful person, on such a nice horse and knows well how to ride but

121. Cf. *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, for pargana administration under Sher Shāh.

122. Mushtāqūi seems to have been the first writer to call the officer-in-charge of the *sarkar* administration as *shiqqdar-i-ishiqqdārān* and 'Abbas Sarwāni and others followed him. But the actual designation of the executive officer-in-charge of a *sarkar* was either *faujdār* or *amin* during the Sūr period. I have discussed it at length elsewhere. cf. Iqtidar H-Siddqui, *History of Sher Shah Sūr*, Aligarh 1971, pp. 117-22.

123. Mushtāqūi has frequently used *Mulk-i Bālā* (high lands) for the hilly region extending over the north-west of the Punjab.

124. The extensive unit of Handiya was constituted by Sher Shāh a *sarkar* in Malwā. Soon later, it came to be known as *sarkar-i-Handiyā*, and Islām Shāh entrusted its charge to a high officer, holding the rank of *Khān* with six thousand *sawārs*. *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, ff. 127a-b.



you have fixed only four *Badrāhs*. Is it not a misfortune for him ?' He answered : 'Shaikh : You are right, but he does not deserve more than that.' The Shaikh again said : 'The Kings possess miraculous powers, but we see only the outward things'. He said : 'Now you should be the judge. Please see as to who is right.' He ordered the young man to draw the bow. As the bow was given to him, he could not draw it. The Shaikh said : 'It is a common practice among the soldiers that when they turn up for *dāgh* (at muster), they borrow weapons from others and, perhaps, this bow may not have been his own.' The King placed his own bow before the Shaikh and said : 'You may see whether it is a soft or hard bow.' Having examined the bow, the Shaikh said : 'It is very soft.' The King ordered (the young man) to draw that bow. But he failed to draw it also. Again the Shaikh said : 'Perhaps he is unable to draw it on account of his wearing an armour.' The King ordered him to take off his armour. He failed to draw the bow even after he had put aside his armour. Then the Shaikh remarked : 'We see the outward appearance while the eye of the King sees the interior (of the man).' The King answered : 'Apart from putting on fine clothes and making the horse dance, he does not know anything else. Even this he does for showing off before harlots ; he shows himself off on the streets.' His Holiness kept silent. On investigation, the young man was found to be of such a type.

Another day, he fixed two *Badrāhs* for a (trooper) who said: 'Your Majesty : My companions have been given more (than two *Badrāhs*) while I have been ordered to be given two *Badrāhs* due to my misfortune.' The King said : 'I am also a helpless creature (*Bandā*) and I do not know what He (God) makes me order. Whatever He makes me order, I do (accordingly).' Some one of his (the trooper's) sympathisers said : 'Yes, Your Majesty : Nobody can say anything against His wishes but a man is called a free agent.' The King said : 'You may see it yourself', and then he asked the *diwānī'āns* (officials belonging to the Revenue Ministry) to write on three slips, on one was an item twenty *badrāhs* ; on the second ten *badrāhs*, and two *badrāhs* on the



third (slip). All the three slips were placed in a pot, and the trooper was then asked to put his hand in the pot and pick up one of the slips. He put his hand in the pot and picked up a slip. There were two *badrāhs* written on the slip. He (was allowed) to repeat it three times and each time the same slip, bearing two *badrāhs* was picked up. Everybody was surprised and admired the wisdom of the King.

Another day he asked an Afghān at the time of checking the muster-roll : 'I did not check your muster. Who checked your muster?' He answered : 'Your Majesty : You have yourself checked it'. (The practice was) that when the King did not feel well, he ordered one of his confidants to check the muster-rolls but examined the papers (relating to *dāgh*) himself. Since he (the Afghan trooper) said that the King himself had checked him, he asked : 'At which place did I check you'. He said : 'in Manikpur'. Two years had passed since then. The King asked : 'On which day and at what place or the village the checking was done ? He failed to answer this question'. The King said : 'You should speak the truth. What did you have in your mind ? If you speak the truth, I shall forgive you'. He said : 'Today such and such man has paid me two rupees and brought me here. Whatever he taught me I have expressed it here'. The King said : 'I bestow this horse and *dāgh*<sup>125</sup> upon you.'

One day, he had the (troopers) of the Rājā or Manjholā<sup>126</sup> branded. One *sawār* appeared before him. He asked him to come down from the horse. When he alighted, the King asked him as to whether he was the groom of the horse. He said : 'Yes : I am the *chārvādār*' (one who feeds the horse). The King bestowed the horse and the *dāgh* upon him.

Another day, there was a Hindu. He rejected him saying : 'He is nobody'. He (The Hindu) asked 'Imād-u-Mulk<sup>127</sup> :

125. Here *dāgh* means the allowances to be paid to a *sawār*.

126. Manjholā has been included in the *sarkār* of Champāran by Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari*

127. Imad-ul-Mulk was a Kambo Shaikhzāda of Sambhal, and held the post of *amir-i-'arz* under Sher Shāh as the inscription on his tomb in Sambhal shows.



'how many *badrāhs* are meant for (one who is) nobody' ? The *Malik* simply smiled. The King asked him as to why he had smiled. He replied : 'The Hindu asked me how many *badrāhs* are given to nobody'. The King also smiled and ordered (the *Malik*) : 'Write down, and tell him that, four *badrāhs* are fixed'.

One day, it was the turn of the *dāgh* of Ahmad Khān Sūr. There was a Sirbini (Afghān), having a long beard in his contingent. The King fixed four *badrāhs* (as his monthly allowance). He said : 'Your Majesty, these persons who are putting on *Tigochiā* (uniform of coarse cloth) have been given more than me. I am putting on *yāktā-i-darāz* (long uniform) which is two times costlier, and for this reason the price of one *yāktā* is equal to two (*Tigochiā*).' The King said : 'Your *yāktā* is cheap, yet I fix additional four *badrāhs* for your beard.' The amount fixed was eight *badrāhs* ; four in his name and the remaining four *badrāhs* for his beard, and the amount was accordingly entered in the register.

One day, a person belonging to the class of *a'imā* (scholars) came, from the *parganā* of Radauli,<sup>128</sup> to the gate of the King at the time of mid-day prayer and started calling out the *Azan* (call to prayer). In course of the call he uttered : '*there is greater benefit in prayer than in sleep.*'<sup>129</sup> The King ordered the servant to find out who was he. The servant looked at him and then returned to tell the King that he was a poor man from amongst *a'imā*. He was ordered to be brought before the King. When he was conducted to the royal presence, the King asked : 'Am I asleep that you are reciting this phrase ?' He answered : 'Had the King not been asleep, he would have come to know of my condition.' Sher Shāh said : 'I have appointed officers for every work. Why did you not refer your case to them ?' He answered : 'I do not have such means that I might afford to approach them.' The King said : 'Very often I take my seat outside (the palace) why did you not come to me ?' He answered : 'Who would let this poor man get up to that place ? I have

128. Radauli is a town in the district of Barabanki in U.P.

129. This phrase is the part of the call to prayer in the early morning.



spent two years in reaching this place. I have stayed (during this period) at the royal gate and made a living by begging from door to door'. The King asked: 'Why did you beg? Why did you not get food from (the royal) kitchen?' He said: 'I am always present here at the gate, in the hope that I may perhaps get an opportunity, and my mission be fulfilled'. The King got enraged and said: 'Your very purpose is to malign me.' He ordered him to be caned four hundred times and put into fetters. The order was carried out.

As the King came out at prayer time, first he remembered the man and ordered him to be brought out of the fetters. When he was conducted into the presence, the King asked him as to how many blows of the cane had he got. He answered: 'This beggar was not in his senses but whatever was destined has happened.' Then he inquired from *Chihradārs*:<sup>130</sup> 'How many times I ordered him to be caned?' They submitted that he was ordered to be caned four hundred times. Thereupon, Sher Shāh ordered him to be given four hundred rupees. After the amount of money was poured into his skirt, the King asked him as to what his objective really was. He said: 'I have one hundred and twenty (*bigāhs*) *ma'āsh* land, and it has been now resumed (by the state).' (Sher Shāh) ordered him to be given four hundred *bigāhs* of land in *mā'āsh* (for maintenance). When the *farmān* was drafted, the King asked him as to how many days' journey was his home from there (Delhi)? He answered: 'My home is in the town of Radauli and it takes one month to reach there.' The King ordered: 'He should be paid a travelling allowance, of two gold coins<sup>131</sup> for each halting place (on the way) up to Radauli, so that he may take the amount (already given to him in reward) intact for his family members.' The officers

130. The officials who maintained the records of the descriptive rolls of the soldiers.

131. Mushtaqi mentions here two *tanka-i-Siyah* (i.e. black *tankas*) but in medieval India *tankas-i-Saped* meant Silver coin while *tanka-i-Siyah* signified gold coin. It is obviously an exaggeration because two gold coins was a big sum in those days.



of the court accounted for the expenses of the journey, made over the amount of money to him along with the *farmān* and then allowed him to depart.

Besides, if he led a military expedition against the enemy, his rules were so strictly observed that nobody interfered with anybody. The *vilayet* and cultivation (along the route of his march) remained unharmed. He could not tolerate any injury (caused by his troops) to the peasants. Nobody could have the courage to enter a (green) field, or take his horse near it. Wherever he made a halt, and in case there was cultivation, he ordered the camp to be pitched at a considerable distance from the fields and (the servants) looked after the cultivation, lest anybody else should damage it and they should be blamed.

At the time when he led the military expedition against the region of Malwa, the *vilayet* was full of population and flourishing cultivation, ripe for harvest. As the King was moving along the route, he saw a camel-driver from a distance with a green branch of gram-plant in his hand and chewing (its green grains). The King rode swiftly to him and said : 'I have already issued the order that nobody would touch the field or grain of the peasants. Why have you done it? You have not obeyed my order.' He answered : 'I have got it from somebody else.' The King ordered him to be brought down from the camel ; his ears were pierced into and he was strung from the neck of the camel with his feet-bound. He was paraded throughout the army camp (in this condition). After it nobody trespassed in any field under cultivation.

The reason for his march towards Malwa was this : when Sher Shāh was face to face with the army of Humāyūn at Tirmohīnī,<sup>132</sup> he had written a *farmān* to Mallū Khān and despatched it, with his *muhar* (seal) inscribed on it, to the effect that 'I have come from this side to face (Humayun) and you should advance from your side so that the spirit of friendly cooperation may be shown.' During those days,

132. Tirmochīnī is just south of the horse-shoe bend where the Dawā or Sarajū falls into the Ganges, about 12 miles North of Arrah town cf. *The History of Bengal*, ii/186.



Mallū Khān himself had assumed sovereign status by adopting the title of Qadir Shāh. (Mallū Khān) found the content (of Sher Shāh's *farmān*) very difficult to act upon and did not like it. He also wrote in reply and put his seal on it. Sher Shāh tore away the seal from his letter and putting it inside the case of his dagger, said to his wakil : 'if fortune favours me, I shall inquire from Mallū Khān the reason for his putting the seal on the letter.'

At the time when Mallū Khān was writing the letter, Saif Khān Dalwāli was present there. He was an important and wise man. Mallū Khān said to him : 'Sher Shāh has sent a *farmān* to me with his seal on it. We also write a *farmān* and despatch it after putting (our) seal on it.' Saif Khān said : 'It is justifiable for him to do so because Kingship belongs to his community ; he is himself powerful and after having fought battles against two grand kings, has emerged victorious. On (the basis of) what power and resources have you put the seal (on the farman).' Mallū Khān said : 'I have done whatever I was to do. You may now suggest what should I do after it ?' Saif Khān said : 'This is a famous saying : the vanquished one may again be vanquished, and the humbled one may again be humbled down. Since he has already gained victory (over Humāyūn), it is possible that he may achieve it a second time also. You do not possess enough power to face him. Either you should agree to serve him or take to flight.'

At last, *Shah-i-'Ālam* (the lord of the world) Sher Shāh marched against him. He was in Ujjain. The King arrived at Sarangpur. Mallū Khān, having come there joined him. The King had just occupied his house (to stay) when he (Mallū) also reached the gate. Being informed about his arrival at the gate, the King called him in his presence. Having honoured him with a *Khil'at*, Sher Shāh asked : 'Where have pitched your camp ?' Further the King asked : 'Have you got any tent and *Sarāpardā* or not ?' He replied : 'Abandoning all paraphernalia of dignity, I have now come alone in your Majesty's presence. I may be favoured in any way as you are my lord.'



The King gave him a special fore-tent, a scarlet *sarāpardā* (tent-enclosure), royal tents, bed, and his own sleeping garments. The King stayed in Sarangpur for one day and left for Ujjain the following day. Mallū Khān was in attendance on that day. Before march, the King had ordered the nobles of the army to stand in proper shape with their army contingents in two opposite rows; and that when they would catch sight of the royal umbrella, they would gallop forward one by one along with their respective contingents, (all sawars) with weapons drawn in battle-array, and offer salutation in that way. Mallū Khān was not aware of it. The King moved on, talking to him. All of a sudden the contingent of Jalāl Khān Jīlo moved forward in battle-array, as was the royal order. Mallū Khān was astounded as to what would happen. As this contingent went away after having made salutation, Mallū Khān asked one of the royal servants : 'Who was the man who has just gone away after making salutation' ? The King looked at him and asked him what he was saying. He said that he was inquiring about the name of the noble. The King ordered Husain Khān Pannī to keep company with Mallū Khān and tell him the full name of every noble who turned up for salutation. Different nobles turned up in this way and went away after making salutation. Husain Khān Pannī told Mallū Khān their names. It went on like this ; one noble turned away and the other came forward to salute the King all along the route up to its end. Mallū Khān was astounded by this spectacle.

The King was laced with weapons and all of his army-men too were carrying their arms and equipment in a similar manner, in spite of hot season. Mallū Khān asked Husain Khān Pannī : 'In such a hot sun how would you be feeling ?' He answered : 'From the date we have started from Bengal, we have been riding in the same array.' Mallū Khān said : 'I find even the clothes on my body unbearable, what may be your condition with the iron (weapons and armour) on body ?' Husain Khān said : 'We like it and are comfortable.' Mallū Khān looked at his face and being surprised inquired from him whether he had ever known of any comfort and Husain Khān said with a smile on his lips : 'This is a famous



saying : enjoyment other than this ? Whenever the master sleeps on the ground, it behoves his servant to take rest in the grave. Since the King himself endures all this, we do not find it difficult or impossible.'

In course of the journey, the King told Mallū Khān the events of the past in details. That 'I was such (an insignificant) man in the beginning that nobody had ever heard my name. When I took risk and laboured hard, people came to know of me. I did not have leisure and rest, and went every day on foot, armed with bow and arrow in pursuit of game. Having hunted game, I returned home. (At a time) I associated myself with the dacoits and highwaymen and plundered the country all round ; till one day, when seated in a boat with my companions, the enemies overtook us. We struggled against them till we could. When I found them overcoming me, I placed the arrows and bow on my head and then plunged into the water. I escaped after having swam for three *krohs*.'

Mallū Khān was completely astounded. The King, however, told him every incident in detail that took place in his life from the days of his early career to his rise to sovereignty. Mallū Khān, who had come to join him with the feeling : 'I have already served the rulers and I am fully acquainted with the conditions of this *vilāyet* (Malwa), and also know how to serve properly ; and when good service is done by me, I shall be left as his (Sher Shāh's) *Peshwā* (deputy) and wazir in this *vilāyet*.' After he had observed the labour and hardwork done by (the Afghān) nobles, he found himself incapable and gave up the idea of serving under (Sher Shah).

On arrival in Ujjain, Sher Shāh charged Shujā'at Khān with the duty of taking care of Mallū Khān. He was also ordered to keep watch upon him and inform the royal court about his intentions and activities. One day Mallū Khān came to do obeisance to the King. Then he saw the soldiers and grandees busy with raising earthen fortification as it was a practice of Sher Shāh. The Mughals who had surrendered the fort of Gwalior, were particularly ordered to work at circumvallation along the road to Ujjain



through which Mallū Khān had passed. Everytime that Mallū Khān came to make salutation, he witnessed this work going on. He felt alarmed. One day he said to his confidants : 'If I am also ordered one day to perform a work of this type, I will not be able to refuse it at that time. (But) my hands are not fit for this sort of work and such service cannot be rendered by me. I do not have ability to endure this hardship and bear such humiliation. What should I do ?' All of them said in one voice : 'It is for you to decide, we are faithful to you. Whatever you decide, we shall (obey and) stand by you'.

The following day, he (Mallū) was given the *farmān* : "You are assigned the *iqta* of Lucknow<sup>133</sup> ; send your dependents there while you should stay (at the court) :". He brought out all his family members and dependants from the fort of Ujjain and encamped in the garden, situated between the army of the King and the town (of UJJAIN). He wanted to run away along with his dependants from there. *Masnad-i-'Alī Shujā'at Khān* was informed about his intention. He informed His Majesty, the King, accordingly. The King said : 'I have made him vacate the fort and stay there, so that he may escape, although I have got grievance against him. Since he came uninvited and joined my service, I have spared him in order to defame him. You should also pretend as if you have not observed anything, and if he offers you money, you accept it and let him escape.' Shujā'at Khān got seven lac *tankahs* from him and the latter fled away at night.<sup>134</sup>

133. In the *Tarikh-i Sher Shah*, the name of Lakhnauti (Bengal) occurs instead of Lucknow. It seems to have been a mistake committed by the scribes. cf. *Same Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*.

134. Abbas Sarwani also says that Sher Shāh allowed Shujā'at Khān to accept the bribe from Mallū Khān and left him free to slip away. But soon later he says that instead of assigning the charge of the entire *vilayet* of Malwa to Shujā'at Khān, he assigned him only an *iqta* for the maintenance of his contingent and posted Haji Khān as the governor of Malwa because Shujā'at Khān had incurred royal displeasure by not keeping a strict watch upon Mallū Khān, cf. *History of Sher Shah Sur.* for further details.



Next morning, the King was informed about Mallū Khān's flight. He deputed an army to pursue him and he himself rode for some distance. In course of this pursuit, he stopped on a height, below which was running the river. At this time, His Holiness, Shaikh Abdul Hai,<sup>135</sup> son of Shaikh Jamālī (peace be upon him) reached him. The King having looked at him, spontaneously composed the line ;

Have you seen what Mallū, the stupid slave has done ?  
The Shaikh also spontaneously composed a line in reply :  
According to the saying of Mustafa (the Prophet) the slave is devoid of virtue.

The King returned from the way to his camp. The force that was sent in Mallū Khān's pursuit, could not overtake him. Some of his Afghān nobles who had moved slowly turned back and joined the men of the King's army. Upon his return to the camp, the King ordered Sikandar Khān to be put under confinement in the fort of Ujjain, lest he should also run away. Shujā'at Khān was posted along with certain other nobles in Satwās (Sewas) while Masnad-i-'Alī Hajī Khān was assigned the charge of Dhar. The king himself turned towards Ranthambore.

In Malwa, Naṣīr Khān, the brother of Sikandar Khān started at the head of an army against Shujā'at Khān. A battle took place near Nilgarh, on the bank of the Narbadā river. Naṣīr Khān decided with his friends that Shujā'at Khān should be captured alive, and be kept in captivity unless Sikandar Khān was set free. Some of the soldiers were successful in reaching Shujā'at Khān and having taken him captive, turned away. When Shujā'at Khān was being carried away as a prisoner, Mubārak Khān Sirbīnī came to know about it and he galloped his horse and overtook them. Meanwhile, Shujā'at Khān availed of the opportunity of freeing himself from his captors. Mubārak Khān received such a serious wound that one of his legs was severed off. Rājā Rām

135. He was the brother of Shaikh Gadai Kambo, the Sadr of Akbar during the regency of Bairam Khān.



Shāh,<sup>136</sup> who was attached to Shujā'at Khān also galloped along with his followers and having picked up Mubārak Khān, came out from the battle-field. Then both of the armies turned back. Shujā'at Khān returned to his place while the rival army dispersed. Shujā'at Khān himself had received six serious injuries on his face and arms.

He was still in this condition that *Masnad-i-'Āli Hājī Khān* sent for him as Mallū Khān was on a march against him. Shujā'at Khān still had not got his wounds bandaged, yet he at once started to reinforce *Masnad-i-'Āli Hājī Khān*. Having rode all the day and night, he joined Hājī Khān ; only five hundred and fifty *sawars* could keep pace with him up to that place.

The soldiers of Mallū Khān came on their horses to the tent of Mallū Khān and said that they should ride and attack Hājī Khān before Shujā'at Khān might come to his succour. Having said : 'I am coming,' Mallū Khān went inside his *sarāpardā*, and started taking wine. The whole day and much of night also passed ; and in the meantime the information was received that Shujā'at Khān had arrived and joined Hājī Khān. They awakened him and moved against Hājī Khān after preparation.

On this side, the Afghāns were already on alert, waiting for Mallū Khān. As they heard of his arrival, they rode their horses and charged (his army). A fierce battle ensued and nobody turned his back, although the enemy belonged to the region while they were strangers there. Shujā'at Khān had already declared : 'If we take to flight, people of this *vilayet* would destroy our army, therefore, it is preferable to die on the battle-field'. Since the star of the King was in the ascendance and their courage was high, they emerged victorious while Mallū Khān fled away towards Gujarāt.

When Sher Shāh reached Ranthambore, the men-in-charge of its fort submitted to him, and handed over it to the servants of the King. The King came to Agrā and thence proceeded to Bengal. In Bengal he fell ill and did not take

136. He was a Rajput prince, related to Raja Bikramajit of Gwalior who was killed in the battle of Panipat in 1526. Abbās Sarwani calls him Gwaliori.



his meals for seventeen days. After the seventeenth day he had decided to march back from there. The physicians and the courtiers submitted that it was not advisable (for the King) to start on a journey during illness. The King said that they did not know what was his plan. However, he set off, and when a little distance was covered, the palanquin (carrying the King) was stopped, the curtain was lifted from its door and the King received everyone's salute. Again the physicians said to 'Isā Khān,<sup>137</sup> the *hajib*: You should request the King that the bed of a patient should not be moved from one place to the other. His Majesty has covered this distance after fasting for seventeen days and (endured strain by) receiving (everybody's) respect. He should encamp at this place.' 'Isā, the *hajib* told him (the King) what the physicians had said. The King said: 'the physicians speak nonsense. I have made a vow in the name of God and invoked his assistance. Since infidelity became triumphant in the fort of Raisin during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm,<sup>138</sup> who had not taken any step to serve the cause of Islam, I prayed to God at that time: O' God, render me capable of taking revenge against the infidels for the honour of Islam. I hope that Almighty God has accepted my prayer. I am in a position to take this step; in case I die: I shall die in the way (of God) and be rewarded by God (for this religious act). I have undertaken this journey for Raisin. (Who knows) What is the divine will?' 'Isā Khān kept quiet and the distance of seven *krohs* was covered on that day, and (the King) reached Agra without halting at any place.

In Agra, the King busied himself in organizing the expedition against the fort of Raisin. He asked Miran Saiyid

137. 'Isā Khān, the *hajib-Khās* belonged to the Niāzi clan of the Afghans as the inscription on his splendid tomb near that of Emperor Humayun in Nizāmuddin town of Delhi shows.

138. The territory of Raisin never formed the part of the Lodi Empire; it belonged to the kingdom of Mālwa. But the territory of Chanderi was seized by Rai Salahdi from the Afghans during the reign of Ibrāhīm Lodi. At this time both Raisin and Chanderi were controlled by Bhaya Puran Mal. Sher Shāh was displeased by the latter because of his secret alliance with Mallu Khān. cf. *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, pp. 100-02, for details.



Rafi'uddin's (opinion in these words): 'the fact about the ill-treatment of the followers of Islam by the infidels of Raisin is widely known. We want to punish them and serve the cause of Islam. We may get hold over them in any way and kill them, even if we make peace with them on oath (and violate it) if it is required by prudence.' Then he sought *fatwā* (judicial advice in writing) from His Holiness. The latter drafted the *fatwā* and handed over to him. In conformity with the *fatwā* he rode away from Agra and reached Gwalior. From there he sent Prince Jalāl Khān in advance. He himself started by forced marches from Narwar<sup>139</sup> and joined the Prince in Bhilsā. At this time the news was received about the coming of Puran Mal. Thereupon he said: 'If he is coming with good intention and requests for peace, he should release the Muslim women whom the Hindus are keeping in their houses and surrender the fort to my servants. I shall pardon his sins and assign another *jāgir* to him.' Puran Mal submitted: 'I am helpless because the Raja is another person. I have come alone to serve the King.' The King said to him: 'Whatever I have said to you, go and narrate it before the Raja.' He went inside the fort and brought out all the elephants, belonging to the Rājā and left them near the army camp of the King, shouting: 'these elephants belong to the King; get hold of them.'

The following day the King proceeded from Bhilsā and laid siege to the fort of Raisin. Puran Mal again came in the capacity of the envoy and reported: 'We have made all possible inquiry about the Muslim women; none of them has been found in any house. People have levelled baseless charges against the Raja. We may surrender the fort, provided Quṭb Khān Sūr<sup>140</sup> comes to us and assures us, taking oath on the Qūran that no harm would be done to us and the *villāyet* of Shamsābad<sup>141</sup> assigned to us instead.' The

139. It is now a small town in Karera tehsil of Shivpuri district of Madhya Pradesh.

140. 'Abbās Sarwānī calls him Quṭb Khān *naib* (deputy). He was one of the high nobles. He was killed in prison during the reign of Islam Shah.

141. Shamsābad is a town in the district of Farukhābad in U.P.



King allowed Qutb Khān to negotiate, asking him 'Go and accept whatever they suggest. I shall do what prudence requires me to do.'

The day when the infidels came out after having evacuated the fort, the King had selected an encamping ground for (Puran Mal and his followers) in the midst of his army camp. The nobles were posted all around it. They (Rajputs) were ordered to pitch their tents at the allotted site. After it the King entered the fort and stayed in the house of Puran Mal. As he lay on the cot, placed on the bank of the tank for rest, he developed temperature all of a sudden, and became restless. The physicians were called to prescribe medicines and the nobles were given leave to depart. Thereafter, he called Habīb Khān Sultāni<sup>142</sup> and said to him: 'My twenty-year-old thought and desire have been fulfilled today by Almighty God, (but) I have developed high temperature, I do not know what is the divine will, whether I shall recover or not. Next morning I shall do what I have in mind, but if I do not survive, according to the divine will and death takes me away, I order you to kill all of these infidels. If anyone of them will succeed in making good his escape, I shall not be having rest in the grave. Go and keep a watch upon them tonight.'

Habīb Khān (Sultāni) hardly had returned to the gate (of the fort) when he was again called (by Sher Shāh). When he came, (the King) said: 'You should not tell this matter to anybody, even your friend or confidant. I have kept it a secret for twenty-four years but today I have disclosed it to you. Tonight you have to conceal it and keep a strict watch upon them (the Rajputs); even if a two-year old child is taken out (from their camp), I shall kill your children.' Habīb Khān submitted: 'Your Majesty, You have ordered me not to disclose it to anybody, and if anybody (from amongst the Rājput̃s) would escape, I shall be punished. It is very difficult for me, I do not know how

142. One of the manumitted slaves of Sher Shāh who now held the title of Khān. He continued to retain his high position till 1555. In 1555 Sikandar Sūr killed him in the fort of Manḳot on the charge of treachery, levelled against him.



should I carry on my mission.' The *farmān*, in reply (to his question) was : 'On the first day when I laid siege to the fort, I had given thought to this problem. I selected the encamping ground for the infidels in the midst of the army ; and the nobles who have had their *dā'irās* (camps) all around them, you inform them about the order that they have to keep themselves armed and watchful (throughout the night).'

Habīb Khān came down from the fort and informed all the nobles about the royal *farmān*. All the nobles got ready and sat watchful throughout the night. At dawn, the King having offered two *raka'ats* of thanks-giving prayer, said : 'Praise to God who is merciful ; Almighty God has shown me this day through his blessing and mercy that my aim is to be fulfilled.' At that time he ordered the infidels to be massacred.

The nobles having beaten the drums encircled the *dā'irā* (camp) of Puran Mal with a huge army and the war elephants. As this news reached the Raja, he said to the Hindus : 'See, what for are they beating the drum ?' People told him that the army and the elephants were moving from all sides. He understood the matter and ordered everyone (of his followers) : 'Every one should go to his tent and prepare himself to die.'

According to the custom of the Hindus, everyone killed his family members (women and children) and with courage and determination to give battle. They upset the ranks of the contingent upon which they charged ; the King who was witnessing this scene from the roof of the fort, ordered his men to use the arrows. The arrows were rained from all sides. After much effort, the infidels were overcome and none of them could escape ; all of them were quickly sent to the hell. A few wounded women, children, three of the nephews (brothers's sons) of Puran Mal along with his minor daughter were left alive. They were brought to the King who ordered : 'the boys should be castrated so that their line (of descent) may be put to an end.' He gave their daughters to the dancers that they might make them dance in the streets and the bazars ; the wounded women were handed



over to low-caste people. The fort was made over to the reliable persons.<sup>143</sup>

**Anecdote :** At the time of the King's march towards Raisin, one of the brothers of Shaikh Muhammad Bakhtiyar, the latter being the *pir*, (preceptor) of Sher Shāh, came and said to him : 'I settled down along with my dependants in a village near the town of Bhandar during the stormy days of the Mughals but the people of village have maltreated me so much that my chest is burnt with the fire of anger. For example, they insult my slave-girls while I do not possess power to take revenge. I am burning (with suppressed anger) but cannot utter even a single word. Today, God has enabled you, if you do not take revenge on my behalf, my life is spoilt.' The King said : 'Whenever I am free from this work (conquest of Raisin), I shall punish those unfortunate people severely, if God wills, at the time of return journey.'

When he came back to the vicinity of Bhandar after the conquest of Raisin, he stopped his horse and summoned the Shaikhzādā. As he entered his presence, the King asked him the distance of his village from that place. The Shaikhzādā said that it was seven *krohs* away from the place. Then the King asked how much force was required for doing the job. He said that five thousand *sawars* were enough. The King ordered : 'seven thousand *sawārs* would go along with the Shaikhzādā and act accordingly to his wishes ; attack the village, put to sword every male member whether an old man, youth or a boy but none of the female members is to be killed or captured and no property damaged.' The *sawārs* went there and having carried out the royal order, turned back. They killed about two thousand and twenty-two men but left women untouched in the village.

143. The man whom Sher Shah assigned the fort of Raisin was the nephew of Medini Rai who belonged to the Chuhān branch of the Rājput tribe. This Prince was hostile to Puran Mal. cf. *Sher Shah and His Times*, Prof. Qanungo, pp. 385-86.



### Affairs of Māldeo

When the *vakil* of Maldeo came for the first time, the King said to him : 'Why has he killed his son-in-law.<sup>144</sup> If God wills I shall inquire (it) from him.' That matter was like this : the *muqtā* 'of Nagaur was his son-in-law. He killed him without any fault of his, and spread infidelity in the *vilāyet*. This event took place during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm. As the Sultān did not take any notice of Raisin being captured by the infidels, he neglected the affairs of Nagaur also, in the similar manner. Sher Shāh prayed to God during the life time of his father as he had done in the case of Raisin that he would take revenge for the honour of Islam, if he was rendered (by God) able to do so. As Almighty God had accepted his sincere prayer, both of these deeds were performed by him.

The Muslims from the *khiṭṭā* of Nāgaur came and stayed at the gate of Sultān Ibrāhīm and prayed to him for justice (against Māldeo) at the time of royal procession, he did not pay any heed to their entreaties. At last the reign of Sher Shāh began, and God enabled him (to punish Māldeo). This was the divine will that he should attain to Kingship and take revenge from the accursed infidels and destroy them for the glory of Islam. Verse

The deed committed by man is predetermined,  
The willow tree neither bears date nor plum.

In short, Sher Shāh achieved three grand victories through the blessing of God. One of them was the destruction of Maharathā, the infidel,<sup>145</sup> second, the infidels of Raisin were massacred and, third, Maldeo was driven away from the vilayet and Islam and Muslims were again strengthened in the *khittā* of Nagaur. If God wills, it may be the cause of his being forgiven (by God).

144. Daulat Khān Nāgauri was the son-in-law of Maldeo, and the latter killed him treacherously and occupied Nagaur towards the close of the reign of Ibrāhīm Lodi.

145. One of the Chero *zamīndārs* of south Bihar, famous for his predatory activities.



According to Khwājā Abdullah Anṣārī<sup>146</sup> (may God be merciful upon him) : 'God wants an excuse for forgiving man.'

Having completed these (conquests), Sher Shāh rode to Kālinjar. He laid siege to its fort which was as lofty as the sky itself. For its subjugation, he exerted himself beyond all limits and spent huge amount of money. He bought a piece of stone for one rupee for erecting battering-walls (*ṣabāts*). The *ṣabat* were erected along the fort and in such a way that they began to overlook the fort. The *ṣabāts* were erected nearly one yard higher than the wall of the fort ; and the work was carried on day and night for eight months, and the men of army, the soldiers and dealers, were kept engaged in it. (Besides), thirty-two thousand labourers worked there.

Heavy mortars, of four thousand maunds' weight, were manufactured for firing shells. This workshop was always taken (with the King) everywhere. Two lac *tankāhs* were paid to the workers daily. They made complete holes in the rocks of the hill and the foundations of the fort inside were visible through them. A fierce battle ensued, and when the pillars were pulled down from beneath the rocks, the walls fell down.

The soldiers who had climbed the rampart began to shoot arrows; and those who got inside also reached from the same side. Then others began to climb the ramparts from different sides. All of a sudden, the shells caught fire (at the place) where the King was standing and he was burnt along with many persons. It was afternoon when the King met this tragic incident. There was a house on the rampart of the fort where he came and lying down on the bed said : 'Make effort and do not get slack.' They were still pressing the siege when (suddenly) the roar of victory was heard. He asked about the reason for uproar. People said : 'Congratulation, victory ; this is the roar of victory.' He said : 'Praise to God, I hear the news of victory with my own ears.' He ordered : 'the house of the Raja should be

146. One of the leading sufi saints of Herat.



surrounded and he should be captured alive'. The Raja stayed with seventy persons in the house. The Hindus shut their women in their houses and then set them to fire. All of them were burnt alive. The Raja requested for pardon and came to the camp.

Upon his arrival from Bhatta,<sup>147</sup> Islām Shāh ordered the Rājā to be killed along with his seventy followers in revenge for his father's death. That day Sher Shāh offered the afternoon prayers by making signs. Similarly, he offered the *Asr*-prayer (prayer before the sun-set) and the evening prayer by making signs. After the evening prayer, he lost consciousness. He died after nearly four hours of night had passed. Islām Shāh reached there in the morning. He posted men in the fort and set off for Agra where he (soon) reached by forced marches.

147. The modern name of the region of Bhatta is Rewa. It is included in modern Madhya Pradesh state.



## CHAPTER VIII

# Reign of Islām Shāh

He assumed the title of Islām Shāh. All the nobles and grandees paid allegiance to him. He ordered the entire army to be paid two months salary in cash from the treasury as a favour, one month's (salary) in reward and the other month's (salary) as their due. After it, he assigned *parganās* to men in *jāgir* (*iqtā's*).

Some time, (after Islam Shāh's accession) Prince 'Ādil Khān came from Ranthambore, called upon him (Islām Shāh) and paid allegiance to his brother. Since he was not given anything, some of the noble who were sympathetic to him and had mediated between him and the King, sided with him. *Masnad-i-'Āli Khawwās Khān*, 'Isā Khān Niāzi and many others joined (Ādil Khān) and determined to fight, a fierce battle took place in the *Nakhāsā* (cattle or slave-market) of Agra. The aforesaid nobles were defeated and then they dispersed and ran away in different directions.

The account of Islām Shāh's reign will be described at its proper place.

### Life of Masnad-i-'Āli Khawwās Khan

He was a very important person among the nobles of Sher Shāh, and possessed a noble character. He was a brave and large-hearted man. He led the vanguard wherever a battle was fought during the times of the late King (Sher Shāh). He maintained such a large kitchen that it is beyond the imagination of a man, and might be regarded one of his



supernatural qualities. Food and all sorts of good things were always available there in huge quantity. All people whether nobles or commoners, white or black, slave or freemen got food from it. Every time when anyone needed it, got it ready.

Once, all the nobles started by forced marches from Rohtas for the conquest of the vilayet of the Gakkhars.<sup>148</sup> They had food for one day only with them. They had left the entire army camp with five thousand *sawārs* behind, so that the camp-followers might proceed slowly. Thus all the nobles having mounted their horses went much ahead. As the destination was reached, they stopped to wait for the arrival of the camp. By chance, a footman, belonging to the Urdu (camp) arrived. They asked him where he had left the camp. He said: 'The Gakkhars blocked the road to the pass and gave battle. Those who had entered the pass, were destroyed while others retreated.' When this was known to the armymen (nobles), all of them were distressed as they did not have food which could enable them to keep body and soul together. Thereupon, *Masnad-i-'Āli Khawwās Khān* said: 'I had suggested that one of the commanders should move with the Urdu but none paid any heed to me. What is the use of feeling ashamed now?' The nobles left for their respective tents. (After sometime) the servants of *Khawwās Khān* went to everyone's tent (to inform him) that the 'Urs (celebration of the birth anniversary) of the Prophet of Islam, *Hazrat Rasul Allah* (peace be on him) would be held tomorrow morning and everyone of them should attend it with his dependants and followers.

It appeared strange to them because in such a desolate place where even half a *seer* food grain was not available, how would he feed the nobles and the entire army, consisting of thirty or forty thousand *sawars*. Again, the servants of the *Masnad-i-'Āli* came and requested the nobles: 'You should hurry up as the food is ready and getting cold.' All the nobles came along with their contingents. As the tradition

148. The Gakkhars lived in the salt range of the Punjab under their tribal chief, who was friendly to Humāyūn.



regarding hospitality demanded, food dishes were placed before the guests. Besides food preparations, other good things, such as mutton soup and other delicious preparations were heaped before everybody. So much food was placed before everybody that twenty persons could partake of it to the full satisfaction. When they had taken their food, they were served with milk mixed with rice, rice and milk (provided separately) and different types of coagulated milk. After it sweetmeats of different types were heaped before everyone. Besides, the *pakwān* (vegetarian food preparation) for the Hindus, such as *puris* (fried bread), *suhāli*, *gulgula* and other preparations of the same type, *gitehndi*, *kadi* (curd curry), *baris*, *barā*, *phulauri*, *mangauri* and *mangauchhi* were brought along with many other things and heaped on the dining carpet; no space was left there. Thereafter, food was also being poured (upon the dishes) from above. After the food dishes were removed, milk and sugar in huge quantity was brought there. As people had taken milk mixed with sugar, betel leaves were brought and offered to everyone. All the *sawārs* and footmen were surprised as to what was the secret (of all this arrangement).

Masnad-i-‘*Āli* Haibat *Khān* Niāzī<sup>149</sup> said to Masnad-i-‘*Āli* *Khawwās* *Khān* ‘Please let us know the secret of your miraculous power.’ (Thereupon *Khawwās* *Khān*) answered: ‘This is no miracle. But my arrangement is that I keep ten thousand men on foot and handover (some) provisions to everyone of them. I have brought cows and buffalos with me. I possess two thousand led-horses and many camels and elephants and have brought provisions loaded upon them in the same way. I have got provisions for one day more. The day when we return from this place, I shall arrange another feast outside the pass, if God wills.’

Another (anecdote): When the King (Sher Shāh) ordered Masnad-i-‘*Āli* *Khawwās* *Khān* to proceed by forced marches

149. Soon later Haibat *Khān* Niāzi was granted the title of ‘*Āzam* *Humāyūn* *Niāzi* in reward for the conquest of Multan. He held the *vilayets* of Lahore and Multan (the whole of the trans-Sutlej region) under his charge.



against Maldeo and he himself had also followed him quickly, the *Masnad-i-'Āli* arrived (at the place where he was ordered to stop) and encamped. About two or three hours of night had already passed when the King arrived there. The King ordered the army to shift to another ground and it was done accordingly. At that time the King sent a man to *Masnad-i-'Āli Khawwās Khān*, saying that he might have brought provision for his kitchen with him and should give some of it to him also. As the man reached him (with the King's message), he sent two *dunbās* (a kind of sheep with a thick tail), roghan (oil), rice, fine flour, each article being two maunds in weight. Having sent all these things, the King remarked: 'He could bring flour and rice, but in such a (swift) expedition, how has he managed to bring roghan and *dunbās*.' (*Khawwās Khān*) informed the King through his man: 'I have brought forty *dunbas* with me; I made over one *dunbā* to every one of the mule-grooms and, similarly, one oil container to every elephant driver.' After it the King demanded honey from him and he sent two maunds of honey also to him. All the persons were surprised.

Another (anecdote): One day, Sher Shāh deputed an army to Khajurao, and the *Masnad-i-'Āli* was posted in Bayanā at that time. The nobles in the command of the army numbering twenty-two reached Bayana under the supreme Command of Ahmad Khān Sūr.<sup>150</sup> The latter came to pay a visit to the *Masnad-i-'Āli* (*Khawwās Khān*) along with his fellow nobles. On that day the *Masnad-i-'Āli* was fasting<sup>151</sup> (upon getting information that Ahmad Khān was coming along with all the nobles), he himself rushed to receive them before they could reach him, and said to them (politely) 'Today I am fasting, therefore, you must stay so that I may act as host tomorrow.' They said: 'We are on an important mission, otherwise we might have stayed and spent the whole day in your house as your guests.' He, however, took all the

150. Ahmad Khān Sūr was the son-in-law of Miān Nizām Sūr, Sher Shah's younger brother.

152. Mushtaqi says that *Khawwās Khān* observed fast on the days of Bid, i.e. three days in a month when the full moon is sighted.



nobles to his *diwan khānā* (private-hall) and said: 'bread and *kabāb* (roasted or fried meat preparation) are ready and you may set off after you have partaken some of it.'

He ordered his *vakils* (officers) and servants to serve them. They brought ewer and jug of water to wash the hands (of the guests). They began service with bread and *kabāb*. All the nobles were present there with their respective army contingents. The *kabābs* were brought in such a huge quantity that they were carried to every person. The guests started eating under the impression that it was all to be taken. But the *vakil* of *Masnad-i-'Āli* said to them: 'You should not think that it was all for you to eat and should not satisfy yourself with it alone, for other preparations are also ready.' They asked: 'Since the *Masnad-i-'Āli* is fasting, this may be the all food available (in the kitchen).' The *vakil* said: 'the second kitchen will be started at the time of breaking the fast (evening) but in the other kitchen people are always kept engaged in their customary work.' They were still engaged in conversation when the servants again came with ewers and jugs of water, and, after their hands were washed, the servants began to serve food. First, they served beef-soup and then placed a roasted *dumbā* before everyone of the nobles, their *vakils* and the senior men in the gathering, as was the custom of the Afghāns. The roasted meat of castrated goat was placed before others (non-nobles). This arrangement was made for a few hundred persons. Thereafter, followed the dishes of red and yellow soup made of mutton, chicken, partridges and several other birds. In the end two different types of sweet preparations were placed before every important person, while single sweet preparation was brought before others. (In short) a few hundreds of roasted *dunbās* and castrated goats along with hundred types of sweet preparations were brought three times to the dining cloth. Likewise, among the birds, chicken, partridges, quails were served in innumerable numbers. In the same way the *Pakwān-i-Hindi* (for Hindu



armymen) and sweetmeats were heaped, so much so that people were astounded.<sup>152</sup>

When the aforesaid items had been taken, the dishes of plain rice, sweet rice, and salted rice were brought (to the dining cloth). The jugs containing about ten or twelve seers of milk were placed with two spoons, each for two persons. In short, people continued to take food for two hours. In the end they were served with betel leaves and perfumes. As they left (the dining cloth); their footmen were brought there and fed. They also took their meal to their full satisfaction and then left. It was the custom of the *Masnad-i-'Ali* that nobody was turned out from the dining cloth (unless he had satisfied himself).

His generosity was such that none among the nobles of the day could rival him in this sphere. It is commonly known that he treated recluses and poor people in a friendly way and showed love and kindness to them. He carried large tents for (the comfort of the) recluses and such other fellow travellers. There were separate tents for widows (who were maintained by him). He provided all of them with mattresses, beds and sleeping garments. He was never found without destitute people, no matter whether it was day or night, while camping or travelling.

Another (anecdote): Once, famine occurred in the *vilayet* of Nagaur,<sup>153</sup> and many people including beggars flocked (to Nagaur). There were two thousand five hundred houses in the town which were supplied food provision, and every family had a few members; two seer foodgrain was fixed per head. The child and the grown up person got the same provision. One day, grain could not be procured but (Khawwā Khān) ordered the dry fruits to be distributed instead in the same quantity and way as food grain was

152. This passage contains repetition and exaggeration as well. But Mushtaqi falls into this error over and over again.

153. On the conquest of Jodhpur, Sher Shāh entrusted the government of the *sarkars* of Jodhpur, Nagpur, Ajmer and Mewat to Khawwās Khān. Thus he was the governor of the Rajputana region; charged with the responsibility of keeping the Rajput princes under check. cf. *History of Sher Shah Sur*, chapter on *Masnad-i-'Ali Khawwās Khān*.



distributed. Consequently, almonds, dried grapes and walnuts were distributed.

Once, he celebrated the 'urs of the Prophet of Islam in Jaunpur. He had sweetmeat (*halwā*) and sweet drink (*sharbat*) prepared with four hundred maunds of refined sugar, and one may guess about the food preparation on this basis. When a 'pās' (three hours) of the night had passed, he came out with one or two attendants, carrying two cauldrons, one full of *halwā* and the other full of rice and bags full of silver tankahs. In every street corner or a narrow pass, wherever he found a beggar, whether he was healthy or weak, he asked for his bowl. First he poured some *halwā*, then placed a few tankahs (upon the *halwā*) and then he filled it with rice and returned it to the beggar, saying: 'Eat it after checking the stuff (in the bowl).' He continued to move until the cauldrons and the bags of money were emptied. He always maintained this tradition and helped the destitutes throughout his life.

The day when 'Ādil Khān fled away after having been vanquished by Islām Shāh in the battle, fought in the plain of the cattle-market in Agra, and Khawwās Khān had to turn to Mewat, he took the *faqirs* (destitutes) along with him. (In order to save them from the pursuing army of Islām Shāh), he personally escorted the carts, carrying the *faqirs*, and thus had become their defender. He supplied food to them in the carts throughout the journey. As the army, deputed by Islām Shāh to pursue him, reached near him, he fell upon them with sixty *sawārs* and soon put them to flight, although the rival force consisted of twelve thousand *sawārs*.<sup>154</sup>

He was in the habit of being ahead of everybody at the time of fighting. When he had gained victory on the army

154. I have discussed this battle in details in my History of Sher Shah Sur in the chapter on Masnad-i-'Ālī Khawwās Khān. According to the Tarikh-i-'Ālfi, Khawwās Khān had almost defeated the rival army but the sudden flight of Adil Khān from the battle-field turned the situation in favour of Islām Shāh. Khawwās Khān seems to have retreated from the battle-field with his contingent to Alwar, the city in Mewat Vilayet and thus could put the pursuing army of Islām Shāh to flight. Mushtaqi exaggerates the fact when he says that he defeated the royal pursuing army with sixty *sawārs*.



(of Islam Shāh), he went back to the *faqirs* and escorted their carts.

He conveyed the message to Haibat Khān Niāzi:<sup>155</sup> If you accept to fight for 'Ādil Khān, we may act in cooperation. Haibat Khān refused (to accept his offer) and did not allow him to come. He went away to Kumaon and settled in Dhon Kasal, a place situated there.

Again Islām Shāh deputed an army, composed of a large number of troops (against him). (Khawwās Khān) safely reached the frontier of Kumaon and settled down there. After some time Khawwās Khān came down the hill and proceeded towards the North-Western region (*Mulk-i-bālā*) of the Punjab. The royal army got information about his movement. They started from their side, while he having marched uninterrupted along the foothills, entered the forest. Rai Husain Jilwāni, the commander of the royal army who had deputed spies to inform him about Khawwās Khān's whereabouts during the course of his movement, got intelligence as to where Khawwās Khān had reached. He tried and overtook him. He gave battle to him near the place of Babarwal. Khawwās Khān received a wound in his neck, yet he broke through their lines and successfully came out. They moved on in his pursuit, while Khawwās Khān had to proceed slowly owing to his wounds. The villagers blocked his way and some of them did harm (to his men). When he was informed about this behaviour of the villagers, he at once turned back and having attacked them, put many of them to the sword. He arrested four of the *zamindārs*, sat on a cot, had it placed on their heads to carry it on.

Again, he got information on the way that (the royal) army was coming to overtake him. He came down from the cot, rode the horse, killed one of the four prisoners and then moved on. He killed another prisoner after he had walked over a little more distance. In this way he also killed the third and the fourth prisoners. When Rao Husain Jilwani reached the village where people had opposed the *Masnad-i-'Āli*

155. Here he again refers to Haibat Khān Niāzi's (entitled as 'Āzam Humayun Niāzi) rebellion against Islām Shāh.



and blocked his passage, he found many persons killed. He stood for a while there and then went ahead. (After some time) he found a murdered body on the road, looked at it and went ahead. As he continued to advance, he found the bodies (of the *zamindārs* murdered by *Khawwās*) lying at some distance from each other, and was much surprised by this scene. He failed to overtake him and had to turn back unsuccessful.

*Khawwās Khān* proceeded towards the mountains. He remained attached to 'Ādil Khān so long as the latter was alive. On 'Ādil Khān's passing away, he ceased to be his partisan. He said : 'I myself had no ambition. Since Islām Shah violated the pledge which he had made by taking oath, I wanted to help him (Ādil Khān) in acquiring the Empire and kingship. He is now dead and I do not have any other aim. Islām Shāh is the son of my master and disobedience to him amounts to dishonesty. He stayed there but gave up raiding (the royal *vilayet*). After some time he came down the hills and having joined the army of Islām Shāh, proceeded to visit Islām Shāh.

'Īsā Khān Niāzi and the soldiers persuaded him to the best of their ability not to join Islām Shāh, saying : 'You should not go, for Islam Shah is a man of vengeful nature ; when he gets hold of you, he will certainly kill you.' He replied : 'Yes : I also understand it but I do not bear any ill-will towards him. I am sincere in my intention and believe that he cannot kill me against my destiny, as Shaikh, the religious reformer (Shaikh Sā'di) says :

If you are destined to survive,

Neither snake-bite nor sword and arrow (can kill you).

If a man's days have been numbered,

It does not matter, whether he takes a medicine or poison.

"If my days have already been numbered, I shall pass away at every place wherever I may live. Therefore, it is better (to join him) than to die in this land of infidels. He is the son of my master and I am going to him with all sincerity. If he kills me, it is all the more good, for I shall pass away from this world as one oppressed and innocent, and also expect to gain martyrdom."



When he left (Kumaon), he walked past all the three stations on foot, keeping fast and fully satisfied with Islām Shāh. As Islām Shāh was very cruel, possessing a vengeful nature, he did not grant him audience and kept him away from the court.<sup>156</sup> After a few days he sent a man at mid-night to chop off the head of the *Masnad-i-'Āli*. The latter got inkling of the matter and having called the man, asked him about the purpose of his coming. The man told him the truth. (Khawwās Khān) said to him: 'Wait for a while as after the offering of mid-night prayers, I still have certain prayer to recite. When it is over, you may act in any way as you may have been ordered'. Therefore, after he had finished his (supererogatory) prayers, he called the King's agent and bowed his head before him. The latter chopped off his head according to the royal order and took it to the King. Thus the *Masnad-i-'Āli* attained the status of a martyr and joined the blessed ones.

156. Khawwās Khān was treacherously killed by Tāj Khān Karrani in Sambhal. The latter was the *foujdār* of the *sarkār* of Sambhal.



## CHAPTER IX

# Account of the Nobles of the Lodi Period

I may write about some of the events which had occurred during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhim (Lodi).

One (of these is that).

The Sultān (Ibrāhim Lodi) had arrested 'Āzam Humāyūn Sarwāni and Miān Bhu'ā; and both of them died in prison. Certain other nobles were killed by his order. (As a result) many other nobles fled away and turned (against him). Amongst them, Dariyā Khān Wazir was in Bihar and (now) I shall describe his affairs. The other (noble) was Miān Husain Farmulī whom the Sultān had deputed against Rana Sanga with many other nobles and about forty thousand sawars under the command of Miān Makkhan.<sup>157</sup> Afterwards, the Sultān sent a *farmān* to Miān Makkhan to the effect that he should arrest Miān Husain (Farmulī) and Miān Mā'rūf Farmulī in any possible way. But the contents of the *farmān* had leaked out to Miān Husain (Farmulī) (and he had become cautious).

Meanwhile, Miān Makkhan, went to the camp of Miān Mā'rūf under the pretext of expressing condolence over the

157. Miān Makkhan rose into prominence during the reign of Ibrāhim Lodi. The latter favoured him with the high-sounding title of Zafar Khān. cf. *Epigraphia Indica* (Arabic and Persian Supplement) Edited by Z.A. Desai, 1967, Calcutta, 1668, pp. 37-38. The full title mentioned with his name is: 'Majlis-i-'Āli Zafar Khān alias Miān Makkhan.



death of one of his (Mā'rūf's) sons who had died in the *vilayet* of Māndū (Malwa) long ago. Miān Husain having got the information of Miān Makkhan's arrival there, rode to Miān Mā'rūf's camp. When the meeting turned lively, (Miān Husain) turned to Makkhan and said: 'You must remove the design of arresting me and Miān Mā'rūf, and sending us in chains to the Sultān. We are not in subordination (to anybody) so that we may stand such an insult. You (have been) subordinate and may stand (such insult). It is an established fact that the tigers and leopards cannot be caught alive. They cannot be captured so long as a breath of life remains in them. Get up and leave this place in safety. Our King has completely lost the balance of mind. What has happened to you? Why do you also act in such a senseless manner'? Miān Makkhan left (them) for his own camp and reported the matter to the Sultān.

Again, he received a *farmān* after some time to the effect: First (you) arrest Miān Hussain; 'Why do you go to anybody's camp? Put up the *sarāpardā-i pādshāhi* (royal tent-enclosure) that you have got with you and call the entire body of the nobles to obey and show due respect to the royal *farmān* and at the time of reading the *farmān*, put under arrest Miān Mā'rūf and Miān Husain along with other nobles whose names are specified in the *farmān*. (Thereafter) you send them in chains to my presence'. Miān Makkhan acted accordingly. He called all the nobles including those (specified in the *farmān*).

Miān Sulaimān Fārmuli<sup>158</sup> arrived with his entire contingent of five thousand *sawārs*. He asked his men to pull out the nails of the *sarāpardā-i Pādshāhi* so that it fell down. He stood having lined up his troops all around Miān Makkhan. Miān Husain, thereupon, asked Miān Makkhan as to why did he not read the *farmān*. He answered: 'I do not have the order to read it in this way.' Miān Husain retorted: 'It is impossible to carry out the idea that you have in your mind. We know it fully well that this army is (to be used) against us. We are soldiers, and maintain ourselves for the service

158. He was the eldest son of Khān-i Khānān Fārmuli, Sultān Sikandar Lodi's *Muqtā'* of the *sarkār* of Bayana,



of the King. But we shall not die in this humiliating way. The infidel Rānā has arrived for our sake. You may act according to what the royal command is; we are going to (join) the Rānā; whatever may happen.'

Next morning, Miān Husain, having deserted, proceeded to Toda<sup>159</sup> from where the Rānā was encamping on some distance. He sent a message assuring (the Rana) of his affection and sincerity and joined him. Some of the nobles of the Sultān, such as Miān Ismā'il Jilwānī<sup>160</sup>, Miān Lodhā Kākar, Khizr Khān Lodi, Miān Mā'ruf Farmuli and Miān Taha Fārmuli, the last two being brothers sided with Miān Husain. Miān Husain made the Rana march against the Sultān's army. (In the meantime) Miān Ismā'il Jilwānī came (to the Rānā) as an envoy (of Sultān Ibrāhīm) and settled a boundary line between (the Lodi Empire and the Rana's kingdom). On Miān Ismā'il's return, the Sultān's army started its retreat. When Miān Husain and Rana started galloping their horses (against) the Afghān army, the Sultān's army was moving without a proper formation, and the soldiers were not in a position to fight; a battle, however, took place near the town of Boli.<sup>161</sup> The Sultān's army took to flight. Miān Husain moved slowly during the course of his march and did not gallop the horse. Miān Taha pressed him to gallop the horse, but he always answered that it was expedient to advance slowly. At last Miān Taha said: 'I should know the reason, so that I may also cooperate.' Miān Husain said: 'There are two brave men in the (Sultān's army), I am afraid, they should not be killed. I am moving slowly for their sake, so that they might go away in safety.'

All of a sudden, both the armies came to close grips and a fierce battle ensued, but the Sultān's army was defeated.

159. Toda was a *pargana* headquarter attached to the *sarkar* of Ranthambore.

160. Miān Ismā'il Jilwānī does not seem to have sided with Miān Husain at this juncture because he had visited Rānā Sāngā's camp as the representative of the Sultān soon after the rebellion of Miān Husain Farmuli. This error may also be attributed to Mushtaqi's carelessness.

161. Boli is still an important town in eastern Rajasthan.



Meanwhile, the news was received that Ibrāhīm Khān Sarwānī was found lying on the battle-field with many wounds. It happened like this: he rushed towards the Rāṇā, while Sankha, the deputy (*nā'ib*) of the Rāṇā was leading the advance guard of his army. Ibrāhīm Khān fell upon him (Sankha) and created much confusion in his army. But he was with a small number of his followers, while the infidel was at the head of his entire force and elephants. He fought as long as he could and did not budge (from his place). Being wounded, he fainted down from his horse. Shaikh Farīd Sūr who happened to be Ibrāhīm Khān Sarwānī's servant, also came down from his horse and holding spears in both of his hands, stood near the head of his master. Sankhā, the *nā'ib* ordered his men to have him trampled under the feet of the elephants. Whenever the elephants rushed towards (Ibrāhīm Khān Sarwānī), Shaikh Farīd rushed at them with his spears, driving them away from his master and every time came back to his master. As he repeatedly made display of his bravery by driving back the elephants, Sankhā observed his courage and chivalry and said to his men: 'This soldier is a great man. Do not kill him and ask him to lay down his weapons. We shall not kill him.' When the words were spoken to Shaikh Farīd, he answered; 'I am not at all afraid of being killed. But the man who is lying on the battle-field is my master. I am his retainer. I shall obey you if you promise to spare him.' They asked the name of his master. He told them his name, Ibrāhīm Khān Sarwānī Kakpur.<sup>162</sup> No sooner Sankhā heard his name than he alighted from his horse, picked up Ibrāhīm Khān Sarwānī and placed him in the *haudah* of the elephant. He also informed Miān Husain about him. The Miān asked if he was alive or dead. He was told that he had received severe wounds on his head, face and all his body but breath still remains in him. Thereupon, Miān Husain said to Miān Tāha, 'I was moving slowly for this purpose; we have, however, found Ibrāhīm Khān alive. But what might have

162. Ibrāhīm Khān Sarwānī's father, *Khān-i-'Azam* 'Umar Khān Sarwānī was known as Kakpūr and, therefore, his descendants also called themselves Kakpūri.



become of Dariyā Khān,<sup>163</sup> son of Māruf Nuḥānī. It is unlikely that we can find him alive. When the dead bodies were searched, Dariyā Khān was found dead on the battle-field. As Miān Ḥusain found him among the slain, he dismounted and raised him up. Both the brothers, Sultān 'Alāuddin and Haibat Khān were martyred along with their young sons, aged twelve years and fifteen years. They were eighteen persons, including brothers, sons and nephews and except two (who survived with wounds), all of them were killed. Many of the soldiers (and officers) belonging to the *Khaṣṣā Khail* were killed. The incident is as follows: When the news about the arrival of the enemy's army became widely known, the royal army did not appear in a proper fighting order. Dariyā Khān said to his brother, Sultān 'Alāuddin: 'The army is not in a proper state (of fighting), it is advisable and expedient for us to separate ourselves from it.' Sultān 'Alāuddin said: 'Why do you go on the rumour which you cannot confirm yourself?' Dariyā Khān remarked: 'The time for departure is this, for at the time when I shall look at the rival army, I shall not run away.' He stopped his horse and remained there till the army appeared within sight. Sultān 'Alāuddin said: 'First I thought that the rumour was false. It is now certain that the enemy has come. As peace treaty was concluded between them (Rajputs and the Sultān), we thought that flight would bring shame (to us) if the enemy did not arrive (to attack).' Dariyā Khān replied: 'That was the time for us to depart when the enemy was not within our sight. How can we go now because I am called by the name of Dariyā (river), and the Dariyā does not forsake its own

163. There is no reference to Dariyā Khān, son of Māruf Nuḥānī in any other chronicle, Mughāl or Afghān. Dariyā Khān Nuḥānī son of Mubārak Khān Nuḥānī, the *Muqtā'* of the *vilayat* of Bihar should not be confused with him. But it does not seem probable that two persons belonging to the same Afghān clan could be given the same title of Dariyā Khān. During the Lodi period, the high-sounding title of *Khan-i Khanan* could be conferred upon two persons at the same time but in such case the persons belonged to different clans. For instance, *Khān-i-Khānān* Farmulī and *Khān-i-Khānān* Nuḥānī appear to have held this title simultaneously.



course. It shall bring shame to my name if I quit my place. Shaikh Sā'dī (peace be on him) says:

I do not ask thee to fear fighting a malignant foe;

I rather advise you to watch him in the time of peace.'

Thereafter Miān Husain Fārmuli and the Rāṇā further advanced (inside the Lodi territory). (Their advance led) Sultān Ibrāhīm to march with an army from Agra. The Rāṇā had arrived at the river Gambhir<sup>164</sup> where the Rājput̃s set fire to the villas built by the late Sultān Sikandar at this halting place (on the bank of the river Gambhir). One of the descendants of Sultān Bahlūl, Ghiyās'uddin by name was raised to the throne (by the rebels and their Rajput allies). He (Ghiyāsuddin) took his residence in these villas.

(Once) Miān Husain was in his own camp. The entire body of the Hindus came and assembled at a place nearby. All the Muslim and Hindu leaders came to Ghiyās'uddin and sat down for consultation. All of a sudden, the cry of 'Ram, Ram' arose from the camp of the Hindus. The Hindus who were in this gathering also raised the same slogan. On that day Miān Husain shook his head and placed his finger inside his ears. At the same time all the persons got up and left (for their tents).

Upon coming back to his camp, Miān Husain called Miān Tāha and said to him: 'Did you understand anything as to why I shook my head?' Miān Tāha replied: 'I could not understand anything.' Miān Husain said: 'I have grown old, fighting battles against the infidels out of intense regard for Islam. In case, I become sincere to the infidels and cultivate friendship with them, I shall be guilty of a sin in old age. I have already declared that I bear no enmity to the King. But he does not recognise my ability and show me any consideration. I (wanted) to act in such a manner that he might recognise my ability, and I could impress upon him my worth, and (also) apprise him that the late Sultān Sikandar had raised me from the position of a *sawār* to the high rank and honoured with *iqtā's* on account of my ability, sincerity and

164. The river Gambhir rises in the Central Indian ridges and joins the Banganga, a tributary of the Chambal river at about 27.0 N and 77.04 E.



loyalty to him. I have done what I intended. I have now got this object. If the King sets Sa'id Khān Yūsuf Khail<sup>165</sup> and Fath Khān Sarwāni, son of 'Azam Humayun Sarwani on liberty and sends them to me, I shall give up hostility towards him (the Sultān) and do (for him) whatever I can'.

When the Sultān was conveyed (Miān Husain's) message, he then released them (Sa'id Khān and Fath Khān) from prison and honoured them with *khiat's* (robes). They collected soldiers and left Agra to join Mian Husain. As they went to him, 'Sa'id Khān, who happened to be an arrogant person, started assuming airs. One day, the Rāṇā was sitting with Sa'id Khān, when Mian Husain also came. On being informed of his coming, the Rāṇā at once got up in excitement to come out and receive the Miān. Sa'id Khān said to the Rāṇā: 'You should not worry about him so much. Please stay, he will come himself.' In the meanwhile Miān Husain entered the *sarāpardā* of Sa'id Khān. The Rāṇā came out of the tent and paid his respects (to him). But Sa'id Khān did not come out. Both of them got inside the tent. Then Sa'id Khān (also) received him respectfully. (Mian Husain) stayed there for a while and then left. The Rāṇā also came out with him.

Again, the Rāṇā paid visit to Sa'id Khān on the following day. Sa'id Khān said to him: 'Rāṇā: Do you know who this Miān Husain is?' He replied: I know that he is a highly respectable man and an important grandee.' Sa'id Khān remarked: 'He is (from amongst) the *Shaikhzādās* (who are) like Brahmins among you. We have raised them to dignity, while we are the brothers of the King. Kingship belongs either to the Shāhu Khail or the Yūsuf Khail. The rest are the servants of the Lodis.' Every day when the Rāṇā visited him, he made a present to him. The Rāṇā was quite a greedy person. As he marked this large hearted generosity on his

165. Sa'id Khān Yūsuf Khail Lodi, son of Mubārak Khān Yūsuf Khail Lodi held the *sarkar* of Lucknow. He rebelled against Sultān Ibrahim Lodi and joined Islām Khān Sarwāni, son of 'Azam Humayun Sarwāni in Kara. Both the rebels were defeated; Islām Khān was killed while Sa'id Khān was arrested. cf. *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*.



part, he perceived that none was greater than Sa'id Khān. He came to a close understanding with him and turned cold towards Miān Husain. One day Miān Husain sent Miān Tāha to the Rānā with a message regarding a certain affair. When Miān Tāha reached the *Sarāpardā* of the Rānā, (he found) people, the nobles (Afghāns) sitting (in his tent) but, in spite of it he was told that the time was not proper (for visit) as the Rānā was asleep. Miān Tāha returned disappointed and reported the matter to Miān Husain. Miān Husain said: 'The association of this drunkard (Sa'id Khān Yūsuf Khail) has turned him (the Rānā) unfriendly and arrogant. They hardly realise that their decision (or agreement) without me being a party to it would prove fruitless. This stupid drunkard does not know that the fetters from his legs and neck were removed on my recommendations. I shall see how long will they cooperate?' Then he ordered Miān Tāha to go to Sultān Ibrāhim and inform him that he (Husain) would join him as his interest demanded. (Further he said): 'I want to make arrangements agreeable to all those who have joined me here out of expectations. Sultān Ibrāhim is the son of my benefactor, and I have been in their service for three generations (since the days of his father and grandfather). I have never slackened in exposing myself to danger (in their service). Tell him (the Sultān) that my only object was to make him recognise the old servants (senior nobles) of his father. I have renewed my allegiance to him and every one who has joined me will also obey him.'

Miān Tāha came to the King and informed him about the change in Miān Husain's attitude towards him. The King issued the *farmān*. 'Miān Husain is (like) my uncle. Let bygones be bygones.' Moreover, he made mention of three *iqṭā's* in the *farmān* to Miān Husain to select anyone of them for himself. One of (the *iqṭā's*) was that (of) Saran and Champaran, already held by Miān Husain previously,<sup>166</sup> the

166. He was entrusted with the government of Saran in 1496 and succeeded in annexing the *sarkar* of Champran shortly later. In 1509 he incurred the displeasure of Sikandar Lodi and fled away to Bengal. On his accession to the throne Sultan Ibrāhim allowed him to return to his court. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, 1/333. Also *Some Aspects of Afghān Despotism in India*, pp. 35, 45-48; for further details about Miān Husain.



second was the *iqta-i* Chanderi, while the third being the *iqta'* of Sambhal.

Miā'n Husain won over Miān Lodhā Kākar, Khizr Khān Lōdi, *Masnad-i-'Āli* Fath Khān Sarwāni (to his side). When the Rānā and Sa'id Khān got information about Mian Husain's compromise with Sultān Ibrāhim, both of them encircled his camp along with their forces at night. In the morning Miān Husain came to know of this (encirclement). He also called for his horse. Khizr Khān Lodi, Malik Lodhā Kākar and all their soldiers prepared themselves for action and rode their horses. Miān Husain asked Malik Lōdhā Kakar and Khizr Khān (Lodi): 'Why have you put on your armour?' They replied: 'All the night long, they (Rānā and Sa'id) remained ready and drawn up?' The Miān, thereupon, remarked: 'They are all jackals. They do not possess strength to fight against a lion. You take off the armour and stay in your tents. It is my business and I am going to see them. Nobody should accompany me'. He forbade his own followers also. He did not take any one of them with him. He rode on in white clothes, and did not have even the sword with him. But he took two body-guards with him.

Sahjan Tutuz, who was his old Hindu retainer, and could take (some) liberty with him, also followed him. The Miān forbade him also, saying: 'You should also stay in the tent.' He retorted: 'I am not accompanying you. I am going to see the fun as people gather to see the sight of a widow (*sati*)<sup>167</sup> burning herself alive. Like her you are going singly to the army camp of the enemy, consisting of one hundred thousand *sawārs* and this is among the worth-witnessing spectacles.' The Miān gave no reply and went on.

He, however, entered the cricle of the army camp, and got down from his horse in the midst (of them), taking his seat. He ordered his body-guards that one of them should go to the Rānā and the other to Fath Khān and Sa'id Khān

167. Here the *sati* stands for the Hindu widow who could burn herself along with the dead body of her husband. Usually, the widows who willingly burnt themselves, were cosidered as pious ladies.



and tell them that he (the Mīān) desired to see them. As they informed them, the Rānā and Salāhdi came from one side but from the other side Fath Khān came alone. Sa'id Khān did not come. All of them sat on a carpet. Mīān Husain said to the Rānā : I have seen and tried you. You have not stuck to the alliance that we had concluded ; '(You have) turned away from (the path of) sincerity. You may now do whatever you consider desirable and should not leave any stone unturned. It is now proper and advisable that we should separate into two armies, one would be your army and the other mine. Every one who prefers you, would remain with you and whosoever decides to join me, may do so.' Further he said : 'I have said what I had to say. You may think for yourself.' He got up and holding the hands of Fath Khān and Salāhdi took them aside. He asked both of them : 'What is your view and feeling ? Would you agree to the alliance made between the Rānā and Sa'id Khan or side with me ?' They sa'id : 'We do not have any inclination towards the Rana and Sa'id Khān. We like to remain with you.' (The Mīān) said : 'I pledge that I will first arrange your affairs and then my own affair.'

The Rānā fled from that place with such haste (after his defeat by Mīān Husain) that his camp was plundered by the villagers and he could not turn his eye back. He could not take away any tent with him.<sup>168</sup> At this time, he covered twenty-two krohs (without making halt on the way). In course of flight Sankha, his *nā'ib* said : 'I am unable to understand as to what type of man this Mīān Husain is. He quarrelled with the Sultān of Delhi while he had only twenty-two *sawars* with him, although certain others joined him (afterwards). We are seventy thousand *sawārs* and running away so precipately, out of his fear that we cannot turn to cast our glance back.'

168. Mushtaqi has been very brief in describing the conflict that had led to a clash of arms between Mīān Hussain and Rānā Sānga. At that time of clash, the Rajput army was off its guard and the Rānā being flushed with his recent victory, was taken by surprise. Mīān Husain attacked him and put the Rajputs to flight. The Rana himself was wounded. cf. Tod, *Annals*, p. 258.



Sa'id Khān also accompanied (Miān Husain and his companions) up to Dholpur. When Sultān Ibrāhīm came to know of Sa'id Khān's indecent activities he had poison administered to him in wine. As he lay in a precarious condition, Miān Husain went to see him and said : 'What do you say ? We have been called by Sultān Ibrāhīm and we are going to him. What have you decided about (your future) ?' He said : 'This is my decision that so long as the last breath of life remains in me, I shall not support Ibrāhīm, nor I shall give up drinking wine.' As he said this, Miān Husain came out. Sa'id Khān passed away that night.

Miān Husain joined Sultān Ibrāhīm and was honoured with many royal favours. He chose the *iqṭā'* of Chanderi, and also got a few *praganās* for Salāhdi whom he had brought with him. Fath Khān Sarwāni was given (the charge of the) *vilāyet* of (his father) Āzam Humāyun. Likewise, Malik Lodhā was allowed to succeed to the rank and position of his father. But the King did not give anything to Khizr Khān Lōdi and said : 'He was not in the King's service. He rather served under his own brother. If Miān Bhikkan Khān (the *muqṭā'* of Etawah), his brother gives him anything, he should accept it. I shall not give him anything.' Miān Bhikkan Khān Lodi was angry with him (Khizr Khān Lodi). Miān Husain left for Chanderi and Fath Khān started for his own *vilāyet* (Kara).

At the time of selecting the *iqṭā'* of Chanderi for himself, Miān Husain had consulted Miān Tāha as to which of the three *iqṭā's* (Sāran and Champāran, Chanderi, and Sambhal) he should accept. Miān Tāha said : 'If you consult me, I think it is better that you accept the *vilāyat* of Sāran and Champāran as it has been held by you previously. Moreover, it is a frontier *vilāyet* and far away from (the reach of) Sultān Ibrāhīm. If it is not acceptable, you should prefer the *vilāyet* of Sambhal (to Chanderi) as it is also a frontier *vilāyet*. Since the King has already got grievance against you, it is good for you to stay in a frontier (territory). Though Chanderi is also situated on the frontier, yet it is full of treacherous people. Who knows what may happen



(to you there) ?' Miān Husain said : 'Chanderi being a vast *iqṭā'* is better for me as I will be in a position to rule over it in my own way and also can take revenge against the Rānā.' Miān Tāha said : 'Since you have already preferred Chanderi, therefore, foresight demands that you should not take your residence inside the fort, get a fortification raised on the outskirts of the town and encircle it with a trench so that you can leave your baggage and other things inside it, and busy yourself in further pursuits.'

Having agreed to this proposal, he started (for Chanderi) while Miān Tāha was left in Agra. When he reached Chanderi, he occupied the palace of Daulat Khān<sup>169</sup> that contained magnificent buildings inside the fortification. There he deputed his sons with army men (to different places). He also assigned *jāgirs* to the army men in the same way ; half of them were situated towards the vilayet of the Rana and the remaining half in Katholi<sup>170</sup>. There was land (also) reserved (by the state) for distribution (among deserving persons) as maintenance grants. Every one of them (also) got *Sanad*<sup>171</sup> (official document) renewed with regard to his maintenance land-grant according to his case.

Shortly afterwards, Sultān Ibrāhīm determined to take revenge against Miān Husain in any possible way (for his betrayal of the royal cause in Rājputānā). He (secretly) won over Shaikh Farīd of Daryābad<sup>171</sup>, one of the close associates of Miān Husain by giving him seven hundred gold *mohurs* (coins) and ten villages. This disloyal wretch won over Sharaf-ul-Mulk who was one of the officers and respectable men of Chanderi to his side. He instigated the local Shaikhzādās to revolt against Miān Husain. The

169. Daulat Khān was one of the high nobles of the Sultans of Malwa, who governed Chanderi as its governors before its annexation to the Lodi Empire.

170. Abdul Fazl places Kothali in the *Ain-i-Akbari* in the Ranthambore *sarkar*. Kathli is situated on the bank of river Parbati at 25.66 N and 76.50 E, south of the junction between the rivers Chambal and the Parbati, 80 miles south of the town of Bayanā.

171. Daryābad is a small town in the district of Bārābanki in Uttar Pradesh. In Medieval times it was known for the Shaikhs and Saiyids residing there.



Shaikhzadas were twelve thousand *sawars* in number, and Sharaf-ul-Mulk was their leader. Mian Husain got an inkling of their plot and asked Shaikh Farid : 'How far have you succeeded regarding your plan, in league with Sharaf-ul-Mulk ?' Shaikh Farid (at once) brought in Sharaf-ul-Mulk and (assured him of his innocence) by taking oath on the Quran. Sharaf-ul-Mulk also took an oath on the Quran, and said : 'In this place I have got many enemies and Your lordship should not believe anybody against me.' As a result, Miān Husain's suspicion about Shaikh Farid's treachery was completely removed and he relied upon his oath. He considered Sharaf-ul-Mulk as also an upright man.

Shaikh Dā'ud Kāambo who used to take his seat on a *chaubutrā* (a raised platform but here it has been used in the sense of outer gate) at the residence of Mian Husain and had served on the same post (as *nāib*) in the *vilāyet* of Sāran and Champāran ; he had killed a few thousand nomads there for stealing. He started carrying on the police administration here also in the same manner. Anyone who plucked flower or mango from a garden without the permission of the gardener, had his hands chopped off. As these gardens belonged to the *Shaikhzādās*, his administration became intolerable for them, and they turned against him. Whenever Dāud Kāambo took his seat on the *Chaubutara*, he drew out his dagger in the presence of local people, saying : 'it is the same dagger with which I cut off the throats of twenty thousand persons. If God wills I shall slaughter these *Shaikhzādās* with this same dagger.' They were very much terrified.

Sharaf-ul-Mulk wanted to take the *Shaikhzādās* into confidence and turn them against the Miān in any possible way. When they came to him and complained against the Miān, Sharaf-ul-Mulk suggested to them : 'So far Miān Husain has not established his position and has posted his army in different places, therefore, it is the right time to revolt as none from amongst his loyal supporters is inside the fort. We are twelve thousand *Shaikhzādās*, we should besiege the place which has been selected by Miān Husain



for his residence and kill him. People of the city will also cooperate with us.' He also showed them the *farmān* of Sultān Ibrāhīm (regarding the killing of Miān Husain). Agreeing to his proposal, they decided that at night when the darkness prevailed, the soldiers returned to their homes after making salutation to (Miān Husain), the gates were closed and people went away, they would storm the main palace of Miān Husain'. They further decided that persons should also be posted at the gates of the houses of the nobles so that none of them could come out. They would tell every one of them: 'We have got the *farmān* of the King in our hands, and you should not come out from your house (according to the royal order).'

Shaikh Muḥammad, son of 'Imad Fārmuli and Shaikh Jamāl, son of Miān Usman Farmuli were the nobles of the Sultan and resided inside the fortification. They (the conspirators) posted some men at their gates, as also the gates of each one of their soldiers, and told them; 'we are doing a job according to the king's order, you do not come out of your homes.'

Miān Shaikh Jamāl who had gone to Miān Husain after getting a bit of information about the plot at the time of afternoon prayer told him: 'You should be watchful this night because the treacherous Shaikhzādās may plan to do harm to you. In fact, they have decided to come and besiege you in the palace. It is desirable that you should guard your gates with full preparation.' The Miān remarked, smiling: 'My goodness: My nephew has become so wise as to advise me. These wretches have got such courage that they may surround me. If I throw even my saliva towards them, some of them will fall on the ground (by its force). If God wills, You will see tomorrow morning what I can do.' Miān Jamāl said: 'Morning is still far off; you should think about the night.' As the time of his death had drawn nearer, the suggestion of Miān Jamāl made no impact upon him. Miān Jamāl got up and went away to his house, saying: 'Whatever I had to say, I have told you; you are wiser (than me).'



As the men of Miān Husain went back after having made salutation and the gates were closed, they (the *Shaikhzādās*) gathered according to their plan, as it was already quite dark. First they went to the house of Sharaf-ul-Mulk. Khwāja Ahmad who was an important man among the *Shaikhzādās* of Chanderi and used to pay frequent visit to Miān Hussain, was not taken (by the conspirators) into confidence. But he was informed by them at the eleventh hour. Khwaja Ahmad tried to prevent them, saying: 'Oh! unmindful persons: After Sher Khān<sup>172</sup>, a competent man has come to Chanderi. Wait and see what we achieve under his leadership. He will wreck vengeance upon the infidels. The conspiracy that you have hatched, is certainly a blunder and will cause your fall. You must desist from doing this wicked deed, otherwise you are undermining the foundations of your own houses.' Since they had already agreed to carry out the plot at every cost, they did not pay any heed to the advice of Khwājā Ahmad. At last, Khwājā Ahmad turned towards his residence and said loudly: 'I am not a party to your decision and going back to my own house.' He did not go to his house but rushed to Miān Husain instead to inform him (about their plot). Then the *Shaikhzādās* pursued Khwājā Ahmad and also entered the fortification, and rushed towards the gates of the palace. As arranged, they had posted groups of soldiers at the gates of Shaikh Muhammad, Saikh Jamāl and their men. Another force came to the palace of Miān Hussain; an uproar arose when they stormed and climbed it from different directions. Miān Husain also came out with a few men, having a bow in his hand. He shot three arrows but each one of them missed (the target). Thereafter he threw away the bow and said: 'I understand that today the end (of life) has come by the order of God because my arrow never missed (the target before)'.

All of a sudden people began to throw stones from all directions and the men of Miān Husain were wounded. At

172. Sher Khān was one of the high nobles of Sulṭān Mahmud Khalji and his son, Sulṭān Ghiyas-ud-din Shāh. He held the territory of Chanderi where he rebelled against Sulṭān Nāsir Shāh after his accession to the throne. He was killed by the latter,



this time, Sher Khān, the bodyguard of Miān Husain, came and told Miān Husain : 'People have entered the harem. If you order me, I shall kill them.' The Miān said : 'As I am passing away from this world, I leave them (ladies) to the mercy of God. At this moment, you should not remind me of the ladies. You should rather exert so that we may die like brave men and obtain martyrdom.' After him Malik Bhilai the Khāsa Khail (of the Miān) came and said to him : 'They promise to spare us on the condition : they say that we should lay down the weapons and they would spare us'. He angrily said : 'It is strange that you do not realise it ; in case we surrender, they would arrest all of you and then send you to the King in chains. Almighty God has now destined us to obtain martyrdom. Have courage and do not pay any heed to these treacherous people.'

Hasan'Ali, who had hailed from Khurāsān was his (Miān Husain's) *vakil*. He also came to him. The Miān said to him : 'Hasan Ali : If you survive this tragedy, you communicate this message of mine to Sultān Ibrāhīm : 'I did not have any ill-will towards you while you had malice against me. Both of us are to die.' At this moment a stone severely hit him (Miān Hussain) on the head and caused him such pain that he sat down on the ground. He had the sword in his hand and moved his body. A man who was wearing black dress came to him and tried to strike his sword against him. But the Miān struck his sword even in that condition and cut off one of his arm along with the armour. After it nobody could gather courage to reach him. They continued to shoot arrows, throw spears and stones from a distance till he attained martyrdom. They severed off his head and hung it on the gate. In the early morning the soldiers who stayed outside the fortification (came to know of it), they rushed to help (their master). As they looked at his head, hanging by the gate, they rode the horses and fled away. Their camp was also plundered by the shaikhzādās. These people of Chanderi got horses, goods and weapons. A few thousands of them, having become fully armed *sawārs* gained prominence and began to consider themselves as men of consequence. As they were inexperienced men, they were



overjoyous while the experienced ones like Khwājā Ahmad and certain others were grief stricken and were sure that soon disaster would take place. Shortly afterwards, the Rānā (Sanga) and Salahdi fell upon Chanderi. The Shaikhzādās who banked only on their recently acquired position, arranged themselves in a fighting order and started fighting against the Rānā. There were one hundred thousand (lac) well-trying sawars in the army of the Rānā. As all of them charged at the same time, the Shaikhzādās failed to stand (their charge) and took to flight. Within a short time, they were put to death and the city of Chanderi was given to loot and plunder. The women of these wretched and shortsighted persons were taken prisoners. The entire vilayet was laid waste and population disappeared everywhere.

On the very day, somebody saw Shaikh Muḥammad Salamān<sup>173</sup> in a dream, that his respected head was without a turban. He asked (the Shaikh): 'Why do you not have the turban on your head? Where have you left it?' He answered: 'I was in Chanderi where I have taken revenge for Miān Husain from the Shaikhzadas. I am now going to Agra; when Sultān Ibrāhīm also meets the same fate (as Shaikhzādās), then I shall put on the turban.'

### **Distribution of Territories Among the Nobles of the Lodi Sultans**

Amongst the nobles of the late Sultān Sikandar, the Fārmulīs were men of power and prominence. Half of the country of the Sultan was placed under the control of the Farmulīs and the remaining half was held by all the Afghāns. During that age the Farmulīs and the Nūḥānīs (Afghāns) were predominant. Amongst the Sarwānīs (Afghans) 'Āzam Hūmāyūn was a high noble. As regards the Lodis, four

173. Shaikh Muhammad Salaman was a venerated saint of the Farmul region, now in Afghanistan. The Farmuli nobles who held important positions during the Lodi period were his descendants. Babur writes about them: 'Of Farmul were the Shaikhzādās, descendants of Shaikh Muhammad Salman, who were so much in favour during the Afghān period in Hindustan'. *Baburnama*, i/220.



of them were important nobles. One of them being Maḥmūd Khān, who held Kālpī, an other Miān 'Alam (son of Bahlul), controlling Etawah and Chandwār,<sup>174</sup> the third Mubārak Khān (Yusūf Khail Lodi, father of Sa'id Khān) in Lucknow, and the fourth was Daulat Khān (Yūsūf Khail Lodi) who held Lāhore. Amongst the Shāhū Khails (Lodi) Ḥusain Khān, entitled as *Khān-i-Jahān* was the first cousin of Sultān Bahlūl. Bahlūl was the son of Kālā, son of Bahrām, while Ḥusain Khān<sup>175</sup> was the son of Fīroz, son of Bahrām. Quṭb Khān Lodi Shāhukhail (son of Islam Khān Lodi) flourished during the reign of Sultān Bahlul.

I may again turn to the description of the Farmulis. The *Iqtā'* of Sāran and Champāran was held by Miān Ḥusain. The (*vilāyet*) of Awadh (and the *Iqtā'* of) Ambāla and Ludhiāna were assigned to Miān Muḥammad (Farmulī) Kalā-Pahar ; Qanauj to Miān Gadāi', Shamsābad,<sup>176</sup> Thanesar and Shāhābād to Miān 'Imād ; Marhera to Tātār Khān, the brother of Miān Muḥammad (Farmulī, known as Kalapahar) ; Jalesar and Indri to Mian Sulaimān, Muhawan to 'Alī Khān (Farmulī), while Miān 'Usmān held the *parganā* of Jhajjar'.

Though the aforesaid nobles had distinguished themselves in bravery and swordsmanship, yet the sons of (Khawājgi) Shaikh Sa'id (Farmulī) were also scholarly, gentle and generous persons. They had surpassed others (in these

174. Alam Khān was one of the brothers of Sultān Sikandar Lodi. and the latter had posted him in Etawah after his accession to the throne. Later on. Alam Khān fled away to Gujarat. His sons Bhikkhan Khān and Khizr Khān stayed with Sikandar Lodi and Bhikkhan Khān was allowed to succeed his father as the *Muqta* of Etawah. *Mirat-i Sikandari*, Shaikh Manjhu, edited by Dr. S.C. Misra, Baroda, p. 203 ; Also *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*.

175. Mian Husain Khān Lodi was the grandson of Firuz Lodi, Bahlul's uncle. *Khān-i-Jahan*, the eldest, son of Fīroz Lodi was Husain Lodi's father. Here Mushtaqi is wrong in calling Ḥusain Khān Lodi as the son of Fīroz Lodi. In fact he was the son of Khan-i Jahan Lodi, the son of Malik Fīroz, Bahlūl's uncle. On his father's death he was granted by Bahlūl his father's title. See *Tabāqāt-i Akbari*, i.

176. Shamsabad is now included in Farrukhabad district of U.P.



qualities). Apart from his rank and dignity, Saikh Sa'id (Farmuli) himself possessed many virtues and learned attainments. Sultān Sikandar treated him as his most favoured associate. One day the Sultān said: 'thirty years have passed since the Khwaījī associated himself with me and he has never done anything that could cause me annoyance. During this period I never had to remind him of what I had once asked him (to do), and every problem which I referred to him has been solved.'

One day, His Majesty, Sultān Sikandar was sitting with the 'Ulamā and learned men. He asked them whether the birds understood each another's tongue. The 'ulamā said that it was noted in the commentaries (of the Quran) that the birds understood one another's tongue. In course of this discussion Khwaījī Shaikh Sa'id arrived there. The Sultan said: 'I have asked this, and they say that it is written in the commentaries.' The Khwaījī said: 'it is enough for keeping the faith (safe).' The Sultan said: 'Yes my faith is like this, but I want to hear a reasonable (and convincing) argument. But nobody satisfies me. Have you got any argument in your mind?' The Khwaījī said: 'reason should not be applied (to understand religious) traditions.' The Sultan said: I have got the same faith. But whatever comes to your mind, you please express it.' The Khwaījī said: 'Apparently it seems that certain birds may understand each other's tongue, but, in fact, all of them do not have this capacity. The argument (in support) is that whenever the fowler spreads the net, he keeps the blades of grass under his tongue and produces a sound; the birds are attracted and trapped. The birds cannot understand this much that the sound does not come from their species.'

'Besides, having stitched the eyes of a sparrow (the fowler) places it on the net, and when it is pricked, it cries for help. Hearing its cry, the birds flock to it and are trapped. They do not understand this much that this cry has been caused by inability and helplessness and, therefore, they should not go and risk their life. Some of the birds, such as crows, and those birds that have their nests on the trees and mountains as crane (*kūlang*) and pheasants gather



at the call (of their species) and then disperse (for safety). But most of them do not have this capacity.'

Another day some one recited the following couplets in the presence of His Majesty :

An impertinent boy should be exposed to good manners which he might learn

But a mad dog need not be given any medicine because it is as worthless for it as a clod of earth.

The Sultān remarked that '*adab*' (manners) and '*farzand-i shokh*' (impertinent boy) have occurred in the first hemistich and 'mad dog' and 'clod of earth' in the second. There is a connection between *adab*, mad-dog and clod of earth but what is the relation between '*sag-i diwana*' (mad dog) and '*kalukh wa dāru*' (a clod of earth and medicine) in the second line ? Some of the sophisticated persons made some apt comments but the Sultan could not be satisfied. (Again) He said : 'A clod of earth can make the dog behave properly but it cannot cure it of the malady, the medicine is meant for cure. While the discussion was going on, the Khwajgi arrived. The Sultān said : 'It's good that Khwajgi has also come.' He asked this (question) from Khwajgi too. The Khwājgi inquired as to what was the comment made by the other friends. The Sultān answered : 'They say certain things with which I am not satisfied.' Then the Khwājgi said : 'It is not *kalukh* but *kilukh* which is *karmi* (a type of grass) and used as medicine for the mad dog. This *karmi* grows in the fields during the rainy season, some of them are black in colour and some with white spots. It is called '*pindhi*' in Hindi and it is given to both, the mad dog as well as the man who is bitten by him. It is mixed in milk pudding or in the molases and given to those who are bitten by mad dog.' After it all those present in the assembly asked : 'Why has this '*adab*' (manner) been used (in the hemistich) ? It may also be taken as medicine and not *adab* (in the sense of manners). The Khwajgi replied : 'As madness is cured, the dog becomes normal in his behaviour, and it has been compared with the behaviour of the son, so that it may be known that the son should be taught manners with affection and love and harsh methods



should be avoided. If the son is not handled in this way, he may not be set right as the mad dog becomes more violent when he is disturbed.'

Miān Maḥmūd, son of the *Khwājī* was known as *Todar Mal*. He was matchless in generosity and chivalry. One day the Sultān honoured him with the reward of an excellent horse with the order that he should not give it over to anyone. After some time a minstrel, generally called *Bhātt* (or *Bhand*) came to him and having sung his praises, demanded the same horse in reward. Mian Maḥmūd told him : This horse is a royal gift to me and I have been ordered not to give it away to anyone. You may take two or four horses in lieu of this horse.' But the *Bhatt* insisted on taking the same horse. He refused to accept any other horse. Again, the Miān said that he was forbidden by His Majesty (not to part with the horse). The *Bhatt* replied : 'You are turning away the suppliant unsatisfied for the sake of the King I am, therefore, returning disappointed. The horse will die one day and then you will repent.' Having said it, he turned back. Thereupon, Miān Maḥmūd said : 'You take the horse with you ; what may happen, I cannot disappoint a suppliant.' He bestowed the horse upon him.

Next day, His Majesty rode (in procession) and Miān Maḥmūd was in attendance. The same *Bhātt* appeared before the Sultān on the same horse and having prayed for Miān Maḥmūd, he recited a *Kabit* (poem) (in his praise) of which one verse was as follows ; Maḥmūd whose sword never fails, in attending on the Sultān. As His Majesty cast a glance on the *Bhāt*, he found him on the back of the horse (that he had bestowed on Miān Maḥmūd). On his return to the palace, the Sultān said : 'Maḥmūd has given the horse to the minstrel and did not care for my order. He preferred the happiness of the minstrel to my order.' The policy of the Sultān was that whenever he got angry with someone, he deprived him of the *iqṭā'* and allowances. Though the Sultān did nothing outwardly, no exception was made in this case also but there was no change in his personal attitude towards him. As Mi'ān Maḥmūd (turned



jobless and) left without any source of income, for the Khwaḡgi also did not give anything lest he should incur the displeasure of the King, and also because he was in the royal service independent of his father, he (Maḥmūd) set out to earn his living elsewhere. He selected about sixty persons from among his companions who were famous for their swordsmanship and took them with him. He left everything, including horses and tents behind. He walked with his companions the distance wearing black shoes. He said : 'If Almighty God blesses me with dignity and high position, I shall be able to afford everything. He got only an ordinary and slow pony to carry their weapons on its back.'

First they went to Mewāt where 'Alāwal Khān (the *Chief*) treated them with all regard and consideration. But he did not stay there for long. He said : 'To come out of the house and take seat in the courtyard (*i.e.* to remain idle all the time) does not behove a man.' He left (Mewat) along with his companions and stopped to take rest in one of the villages, attached to the fort of Bayana. At that time the villagers started running away in fear. As there was much uproar, one of them (Maḥmūd's men) went to know its cause. He found the village was being deserted by its dwellers. The Miān sent one of his companions to the *muqaddam* (village headman) to inquire from him the reason for the flight of people from their village. The *Muqaddam* told him : 'Sultan Ahmad (Jilwāni) has deputed an army against us and we are leaving the village (for safety).' The Miān sent the message (to the *muqaddam*) : 'If you were alone, you might run away. As we have arrived here to stay, we undertake the responsibility (to defend the village). You should stay in your houses, free from fear and worry. It is our duty to put resistance to the army.' The *muqaddam* said : 'You are travellers and (you have stayed here) as our guests. It is against the traditions of hospitality and manliness to let you have so much trouble and thus emburden you. By chance, if injury is done to you, our faces will be blackened (*i.e.* we shall be ashamed)'. The Miān said : 'If harm is done to you, in spite of our presence here, then our faces shall also be blackened.' However, having encouraged



and cheered them up, he made them stay and prepared to fight for them.

At dawn the army (of Bayāna) arrived. Leaving the village at their back, they (Miān Maḥmūd) stood in battle-array, taking no villager with them. Since the *sardar* (commander) of the army saw that the strangers were standing in battle-array (to face him), he became cautious and worried. He slowed down his pace, so that he might acquaint himself with the strength of the enemy. Miān Maḥmūd said to one of the heralds (of the enemy): 'Why are you moving (ahead) slowly? Why do you not quicken your pace? If you are manly, you should advance quickly.' As they heard him, they were convinced that they were strangers from some different place. (They commented): 'They have strange appearance and nobody in the village has got this appearance (They look like strangers and do not seem to be the residents of that village). We should inquire about them.' Thereafter, they sent a man to them for this purpose. The man could only know that they were travellers and returned with this information. They asked him to go back and further inquire as to who they were. He came to them and asked: 'What is the name of your *sardar*? Why have you come to this village?' They replied: 'What have you got to do with our name? You should do your job.' Again they sent the message to (Miān Maḥmūd): 'You are travellers and you should not talk in this way. We have come to chastise the villagers and we have nothing to do with you. You should leave (the village) and resume your journey, we shall do with the village whatever we have to do (we like).' They also conveyed the words in reply: 'we have passed the last night in this village and drunk its water; it is against the spirit of manliness and of magnanimity that, in spite of our presence here, harm should be done to these people.' After they had received the message (of Miān Maḥmūd), they sent one of their man to Sulṭān Aḥmad Jiwānī<sup>177</sup> to inform him about the situation. The Sulṭān sent the word,

177. Sulṭān Aḥmad Jilwani was one of the high nobles of Sulṭān Bahlūl Lodi. On Bahlūl's death, he assumed independence. cf. *Some Aspects of Afghan Depotism in India*.



directing (his men) to inquire as to who they were. They got the information that he was Mi'ān Mahmūd Farmulī by name and going away after a quarrel with his father. When Sultān Ahmad got this information, he immediately sent his letter with a reliable man to the Mi'ān. He pardoned the villagers and called the Mi'ān to his presence.

Upon receiving him, (Sultān Ahmad Jilawani), showed him great affection and said by way of flattery : 'You would have put me to shame, if the army had reached (the village) at night and a battle had been fought. Nobody knows what would have been its outcome. It is good that it (army) reached there at day time and saw you.' After it, he asked him about the reasons for his departure (from the royal court). Mi'ān Mahmūd told him the cause of the royal displeasure and his departure (from the Sultān's court, without his father's permission. Sultān Ahmad had just started speaking ill against Sultān Sikandar that (Mi'ān Mahmūd) at once reacted saying : 'You are criticizing my master in my presence under the feeling that we have come to you. You do not look (down) into your own collar.' Having uttered these words, he got up and started on his journey.

He went to Nagaur<sup>178</sup> where Firoz Khān, its *muqtā'* employed him. In Nagaur he performed many deeds and Firoz Khān conferred flag and drum upon him in reward. The number of his followers increased to four hundred *sawars*. Sultān Sikandar got intelligence about (his) affair. He called Khwājgi and said to him : 'You let the man go away who was for my service and you are keeping all other sons (with you) because they serve you. I have given things (jobs) to everyone of your sons because of (Mi'ān Mahmūd)'. The Khwājgi sent his man to bring Mi'ān Mahmūd (from Nagaur). He (Mahmūd) had left on foot, wearing black shoes but returned with four hundred *sawārs*, flag and drum.

178. Like other *vilayets*, the territory of Nagaur in Rajputana became an independent principality after Timur's invasion of India. The *Muqtā'* of Nagaur retained his independence till A.D. 1511-12 when Muḥammad Khān of Nagaur acknowledged Sultān Sikandar's suzerainty. cf *History of the Lodi Sultāns of Delhi and Agra*, Dr. Abdul Halima, Delhi, pp. 100-01.



## Mi'ān Tāha Farmull

I may now describe a little of the life of Mi'ān Tāha

He was a scholarly man, familiar with all the arts and sciences. There was no art which he did not know. The Verse : What has been left in the world, thou dost-not-know, what shall I pray to God to bestow upon thee. Sultān Sikandar (Lodi) said about him : 'Mi'ān Tāha is equal to one thousand men.' This remark was made on account of his vast knowledge. Such was the range of his knowledge, that one day when I went to him, he was delivering a lecture on *dars-i Quṭbī* (?). He taught the *diwāns* (collections) of Khāqāni, Anwari and (Firdausi's) *Shahnāmā*. He had no rival in his knowledge of music. All the experts of this art during the age called him '*Sarva Giyān*'. There was no one equal to him (in this art).

One day a musician was playing on a *Rudrbīn* at his gate and the Mi'ān heard it from inside his house. The instrument had one of its strings broken ; the Mi'ān asked the musician (through his servant) from inside : 'Why have you removed the eighth string ?' When (people) examined (the instrument) they really found it (the eighth string ) missing.

He was a recognised expert of '*Ilm-i-Tib* (the science of medicine), and had committed to memory four thousand *ashloks* (formulas) relating to this science. The Brahmans, expert in this '*ilm (tib)* and the art of music, came to him for learning and undergoing training. Once I was present with him when the son of Ibrāhīm Khān Sarwāni was brought before him. The child had a lacerated wound inside his abdomen. Though his father spent a huge amount on his treatment and also called the leading physicians (to cure his wound), yet no remedy could prove effective. At last he was taken to Mi'ān Tāha, and the latter was given detailed information about his case. The Mi'ān said : 'He would be cured with ordinary medicines, God willing,' and asked (the servant of Mi'ān Ibrāhīm Sarwāni) : 'Take the bark off the *Kanār* (lote) and neem-tree (an Indian tree), boil it in water and wash his belly around the wound (with the boiled water). After it, the pulverized *go bhi* (perhaps cauliflower) be smeared upon the abdomen. I hope that he will be cured.' The



servant who had come with the child, could not understand what was meant by 'gobhi'. The Miān said : 'the villagers call it 'bhathel.' Again he could not follow him. Therefore, the Miān said to him that the *jogis*<sup>179</sup> called it by this name and the Gujarātis (people of Gujarat) called it by that name. But he failed to follow him in any dialect. At last the Miān asked him : 'You may go and tell Ibrāhim that the Afghāns call it "jamjali", the Khān will know it.'

They treated the boy in the same way as the Miān had suggested and soon his condition was improved. He was, cured from this dangerous disease.

One of the inventions of Miān Tāha was that he made from ivory a sheet of paper out of the tusk of an elephant. It did not break even when it was folded or unfolded and no crease marks were left on it. He had also made a flag out of an elephant's tusk which was in no way inferior to the real flag (i.e. of cloth). It was rather whiter than the real flag. He had made another flag of *lāc*<sup>180</sup> which was also never broken on folding and unfolding and never got stuck. He had prepared a cap of ivory for the King. Though people rubbed and folded it, it was not damaged. He had carved out a *khobni* like (ear-ring) of ivory for the wife of Ahmad Khān, son of Khān-i Jhān (Lodi), resembling the bud of water-lily. He had placed a black bee made of a ebony, inside the bud. When ear-ring was put on the lady's ear, it remained in the form of a bud so long as she did not move her head, but as soon she moved it, it opened into a flower and the bee came out and began to fly near her eye. The bee was tied inside the bud with the threads of gold. So long as she was in conversation and her head moved, the bee continued to hover (near her eye). When she stopped moving her head, the bee went back and the flower got closed up.

179. The Yogis who were Hindu hermits and adept in the science of yoga (breath-control, etc.) are mentioned by Persian writers in India as *jogis*.

180. *Lāc* or *Lākh* is a gum, extracted from the wood of a tree and used in making bangles etc.



One day, Shaikh Bāyazid Farmūlī, brother's son of Miān Muḥammad Farmūlī, who possessed much intelligence and insight, started talking with Miān Ṭāha about the Indian sword (*shamshir-i-Hindī*): 'I have got an excellent *khanda-i-lang-vani* (Indian sword).' Miān Ṭāha said: 'Every sword, manufactured by an expert is good, sharp and cannot be entangled in the armour.' Miān Shaikh Bāyazid said: 'The *khanda-i-Lang-vani* (sword) has not been manufactured by any man. It is (a) heavenly (thing) which has come down from the heaven'. Miān Ṭāha remarked: 'Miān Bāyazid, I have always considered you a wise man. How do you say such a thing, that the *lang-vani* has come down from the heaven? Bury the *khanda-i-lang-vani* that you possess in the ground for one year, and then dig it out. If it remains unaffected, then I may believe this saying, otherwise it is all falsehood'. Shaikh Bāyazid said: 'it is so written in the books of the Hindus.' Miān Ṭāha replied 'This is more nonsensical as the entire Hindu mythology is absurd. How can their books be reliable. It is misleading for the Muslims to have faith in their books.' Upon it Miān Bāyazid said: 'I have never seen or heard of a person who could surpass you in the expert's knowledge of all the arts and crafts. Perhaps you also made a sword.' He replied, 'I have not made a sword as yet. But I have learnt the method; if I make it, I expect that it will be such a *khanda-i-lang-vani* (sword) that its edge would be spoilt neither by fire nor by sharpening.' Shaikh Bāyazid said that he would also like to see such a sword. Miān Ṭāha asked him to give one of his swords. Shaikh Bāyazid said: 'I shall myself bring the sword of steel to your place, you should get the ingredients (of the preparation) ready.' Miān Ṭāha answered: 'Today I shall get the ingredients prepared, you bring the sword tomorrow. I shall draw the figures of the sun and moon on it in your presence and after you keep the frame with you for a few days, then I shall open it. When these figures are fixed on the sword, you may try in any way, these figures will not be removed.'

Another day, Miān Shaikh Muḥabat, son of Miān Ḥusain Farmūlī sent me to Miān Ṭāha with a *Maghrabi* (Syrian)



sword which was being sold for two hundred and fifty *tankāhs*. In those days the *Maghribi* swords were rare. (The *Miān*) asked me to take the sword to *Miān Ṭāha* so that he might purchase it after *Miān Ṭāha*'s approval. When I reached his place, I saw him cleaning himself after having passed urine (in the urinal) in the outer courtyard of his house. He looked at me and called me near him. I told him about the sword that *Miān Maḥabat* had sent through me. He asked me to draw it a bit out of the sheath. When I was drawing it out, he stopped me, saying : 'that is enough.' Having cast his glance on it, he said : 'Perhaps it can be bent.' I answered : 'Yes : it can be bent, and two hundred and fifty *tankāhs* have been agreed as its price. If you approve of it, it may be bought'. He said that it was cheap and could be bought for two hundred and fifty *tankāhs*. Further he said : 'If the *Miān* wishes to possess a (good) sword, he should send a piece of steel and inform (me) regarding the type of sword, whether *Abu Sa'idī*, *Misri* (Egyptian), *Khurāsani*, *Maḡhrabi* which he desires to possess ; I shall have it made by my slaves for him and it will be much nicer than this *maghrabi* sword.

Another (anecdote) : His Majesty Sultān Sikandar (Lodi) sent his sword to the iron-smiths of Rapri, who had no rivals in their craft and were in the royal service, so that they might remove a slant that had taken place in it. The iron-smiths thought out many devices to remove the defect from the sword in such a way that no harm was done to it, but no device was considered useful, and they could not do anything for two months. They feared that if it was put into fire, it would lose its shine and sharp edge ; and, in case it was hammered, it might break. They were keeping it like this (unrepaired) when *Miān Ṭāha* happened to pass by the side (of the workshop) of the iron-smiths, and (seeing him) they came out and having touched his feet, they requested him in all humility : 'The slaves (themselves), who pray for you are faced with a difficult problem which remains unsolved in spite of all efforts. We are very much embarrassed.' Then, they showed the sword to *Miān Ṭāha*.



Having examined the sword, he said that the sword had been lying uncared. He asked them to rub sesame oil on it and then leave it in the sun for some time. It was kept in the sun till it became quite hot; and at that time the *Miān* got up, put on hard shoes, and having kept the double edged sword on the uneven ground, kicked it several times. After it (as a result) the defect was entirely removed from the sword. When the iron-smiths examined the sword, they at once fell down upon the feet of the *Miān* and requested him to conceal the fact (about removing the defect from the sword) from the Sultān so that they might not lose their good-will.

Another day, *Miān Ṭāha* went to make obeisance to the Sultān. He found at the gate of the palace the jewellers who had been summoned. He asked them why they had come there. They told him: 'His Majesty, the King has demanded from us a thing which is beyond the reach of these slaves.' The *Mi'ān* asked what it was? They said: 'We have been shown a *marwārid* (pearl) and ordered to supply the like of it.' *Miān Ṭāha* went to the Sultān and asked what exactly was order that has been issued to the jewellers. The Sultān said: 'I have shown them a pearl and asked them to supply the like of it so that they may be had in a pair. They are unable (to supply it).' *Miān Ṭāha* desired to examine the pearl, and it was brought and shown to him. He said: 'If I be allowed, I may also make an effort to find out (its match).' The King allowed him to carry on his search. He took the pearl to his house, and on the following day when he went to the court, to make obeisance, he presented the pair of the pearls and (both of which) had the same lustre, same beauty and were of the same size and shape. One could not be distinguished from the other. Then he requested the Sultān to call the jewellers and ask them to distinguish between the royal pearly and the other one. They made all possible efforts to separate the royal pearl from the new one, but in vain. The Sultān said to the *Miān*: 'no difference can be made between the two pearls, you may now tell me (the truth).' The *Miān* indicated which was the



original and which the other one, brought by him. Thereupon, the Sultān sent (the new) pearl to the jewellers for the assessment of its price. The jewellers fixed one thousand *tahkāhs* of Sultān Sikandar's reign as its price. Thg Sultān ordered one thousand *tahkāhs* to be made over to the man of Miān Tāha. Miān Tāha said : 'By the grace of Your Majesty, I possess a good māny pearls of this type, and I will not accept its price.' The Sultān said that if the *Miān* would not accept its price, he would not take it. Miān Tāha said : I have to say something, if I am permitted.' The Sultān permitted him to say (whatever he wanted to say). He said : 'I have made this pearl myself and its preparation involved no expenditure.' The Sultān was surprised to hear it and said in astonishment : 'How can it be known that it is your own creation ?' The Miān said : 'if there is privacy, I shall tell you.' After it all the persons, present there, were asked to retire. Miān Tāha had made the pearl out of mica. He removed one layer after another and showed it all (to the Sultān). The Sultān did justice to him (*i.e.* showered favours upon him).

Besides, Miān Tāha was an expert of alchemy. He made silver and gold. But *Khawājgi*<sup>181</sup> had made him take an oath that he would not practise (alchemy). He was so well-adept in the arts of calligraphy, inscribing and cutting (perhaps paper or cloth) ? that all the experts of the age agreed to accept him as unrivalled (in these arts).

### **Miān Mā'rūf Farmūli**

Miān Mā'rūf Farmūli was also a pious and wise man of the age. He was celebrated for his bravery and generosity. From the time of Sultān Bahlūl to the reign of Islām Shāh (Sur) he had fought in many battles and nobody had ever surpassed him in swordsmanship. He never accepted reward or present from any King, and never ate food from the house of a Hindu. At the time when the Rana of Chittor had

181. *Khawājā Shaikh Sa'id Farmūli* is referred to as *Khawājgi* at different places and Miān Tāha was his relation.



invited Miān Husain (Farmulī) and other nobles to a banquet,<sup>182</sup> and when different dishes of food preparations were placed (on the dining cloth) before the guests, the Rānā having put a cloth around his neck (in the fashion of an Indian butler) stood before Miān Mā'ruf Farmulī and requested: 'All the nobles have honoured me and taken food, you should also do me honour by turning your hand towards the dish of food.' The Miān replied: 'I have never eaten (food) from the house of a Hindu.' The Rānā again requested him to be gracious to him by accepting his hospitality. But (the Miān) reiterated his refusal: 'I cannot do what I have never done in the whole of my life.' Miān Husain, speaking in the Afghani language, said to him 'There are many things that should be done for expediency's sake. Today we have to gain our object with this Hindu's support, so you put your hand into the dish.' He answered: 'You are my superior, therefore, you must gratify him.' Since all the nobles and the Rānā pressed him, he took a pinchful of food and placed it in the corner of his handkerchief, promising that he would eat it at the time of breaking his fast. But when he left the place, he untied the handkerchief and threw the food on the ground.

In the battle between Sher Shāh and Raja Māldeo, Miān Mā'ruf was wounded with a sword. At that time he was aged one hundred and seven years. It is also one of his supernatural qualities. When Sher Shāh sent three hundreds of *tankahs* to him (as a reward), he refused to accept it. He said: 'I have never accepted a reward from any King, for I always exert and fight for the sake of God.'

Furthermore, when Bābur Bādshah arrived in the *mulk* of Delhi, he (Miān Mā'ruf) went to Sultān Bahādur Shāh in Gujarat. One day he was sitting with Sultān Bahādur that the news of the arrival of two ships from the sea was received. They brought two ass-loads of specimen of every type of cloth and other articles in the ships to the Sultān for inspection. In both the ships there were goods worth

182. This happened when Miān Husain and the nobles of Ibrahim Lodi had deserted the royal army to the Rānā in Rajputanā in 1519-20.



(about) seven crores (seventy million ruppes). The Sultān ordered both the ships that the goods of the ships be given over to the men of Miān Māruf. But (Miān Māruf) said : 'Your Majesty : I have done no service (to you) so far. When I shall perform my duty, I shall accept my salary, whatever it will be.' The Sultān said : 'I give it to you as my guest.' The Miān replied : 'I have never accepted any gift from any King.' Sultān Bahādur remained silent.

Miān Mā'ruf knew well the science of alchemy and was celebrated for his large-hearted generosity. Whatever he got, he distributed it all to the beggars, handicapped and other indigent people. No suppliant ever returned from his place dissatisfied.

Do not take melon alone, for God had it first divided into ten pieces.

The marks of division are still visible.



## CHAPTER X

# Reign of Islām Shah Sūr

He (Islām Shāh) was a very brave, courageous, wise and intelligent man. He retained all the rules and regulations of his father's reign ; he rather made additions (in different fields). For instance, he ordered the *serāis* (constructed (by Sher Shāh) along the highways at every *kroh*, to be built at the distance of half a *kroh*. He ordered that the *langar* (kitchen), set up during the reign of Sher Shah in the army camps, for distributing food among the poor, were to be installed in every *Serā'i* instead, so that every traveller whether a *dervish* (saint), rich, a Hindu or Mussalmān, might get food to his full satisfaction. He had places constructed for supplying water ; cooled water, perfumed with rose, was also kept there. A mosque was constructed with every *serā'i* and an *imām*, *Mu'āzzin* and *farrash* (man incharge of flooring) was appointed (for every mosque).

He organized the army like this : (beginning from the group) *punjahi* (50 troops), *sadi* (100 troops), *do-sadi* (200 troops), *doist-o Panjah* (250 troops) and *panşadi* (500 troops), several (new) groupings were made. For every *Punjahi* (50) group, one *krākun-i Farsi navis* (Persian Clerk) and one Hindi Clerk were appointed. *Kuwajās Saras* were appointed *sardārs* (Superintendents). He (also) organised army in *panj-hazārī Fauj* (5000 troops), *deh-hazari fauj* (10,000 troops), *beest-hazar fauj* (20,000 troops) and *si-hazārī fauj* 30,000 troops) and posted two *munşifs* (inspectors), one Afghān and the other Hindustani as well as two *Khawāja saras* over each *fauj* (force).



The men, who were paid monthly allowances (in cash) in the days of Sher Shāh, were assigned territories and *pārgnanās* (instead). He stationed armies at every place from Sonargaon to each of the frontiers in all the directions. The six thousand *sawars* whom he maintained (as personal contingent) when he was a prince, now he favoured every one of them according to his position. Every one of them, who was a *fard* (*sawār*) was made *grohdār* (group-commander) and one who happened to be a *grohdār* became an *amir*. Since he changed some of the laws (arrangements) of the time of Sher Shah, most of the (senior) nobles were disheartened and (also) became apprehensive (of their future) for this reason. The King also lost confidence in them, until, all those nobles who were in alliance with Ādil Khān (eldest son of Sher Shāh) turned against him.

Being informed about their hostility towards him, Islām Shāh had some of them arrested and thrown into prison. He ordered all of them to be administered *opium* and *post*.<sup>1</sup> Maḥmūd (son of Prince Ādil Khān), Qutb Khān Sūr<sup>2</sup> and Barmazid Sūr were imprisoned and given *post* to drink. Zain Khān Niāzī was killed. Jālāl Khān Sūr and his (younger) brother,<sup>3</sup> Bahār Khān and Shams Khān Niāzi were killed. Many others were (also) killed. All these persons (whom Islām Shāh had killed) were tied to the feet of the elephants and paraded in the army camp, while the (favourite) nobles had taken their seats on the elephants, so that the people might feel terrified.

‘Saīd, Khān the brother of Hābat Khān Niāzi<sup>4</sup> fled away from Agra to his brother (in Lahore). He prevented Haibat

1. The important prisoners whose existence was considered dangerous for the King were given a mixture made of opium and certain other injurious things to drink and it had a ruining effect on their health in due course of time. This was called *post* (i.e. poppy).
2. Qutb Khān Sūr has been called the *naib* (deputy) of Sher Shāh by Abbās Sarwani and other Afghan chroniclers. He was, however, one of the high nobles raised to position by Sher Shah.
3. His real name was Khudādād Khān. cf : *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism* in India, p. 72.
4. Haibat Khān Niāzī was rewarded by Sher Shāh with the title of ‘Azam Humāyun Niāzī after he had seized the territory of Multan and Bhakker from the Biloch chiefs.



Khān from proceeding to the (court of) Islam Shah and persuaded him to rise in revolt. Haibat Khān collected a huge army. Islām Shāh advanced at the head of his army against (the Niāzīs). The Niāzīs also proceeded from Lahore and stationed in the vicinity of Ambala to face the army of Islām Shāh. Khawwās Khān also joined them (the Niāzīs). He had secretly sent a message to Islam Shah to the effect: 'Though you may regard me as a disloyal person, yet I have (always) remained loyal to the family of Sher Shāh and sided with 'Ādil Khān out of this attachment. Who are the Niāzīs for whose sake I may turn against the son of my master, and bear the mark of disloyalty on my forehead, and be ashamed (of it) before God and His Prophet. If God wills, the truth of my sincerity will become known on the day of the battle.'

When the rival forces rode on the day of battle, Islām Shāh had his entire army in the carts. As his eye fell on the army of the Niāzīs, he had the chains of the carts loosened and ordered his men to charge (the enemy). He himself stood inside the circle of the carts. Khāwwās Khān sent a message to Haibat Khān and his brothers: 'At the time when I shall move and the trappings of my elephants come within sight, all of you should move speedily and avoid any delay'.<sup>5</sup> As Khāwwās Khān moved swiftly, they saw him and also ran towards (the royal army). Khawwās Khān left his place and went away without joining (any party). They saw to their surprise that Khawwās Khān had deserted them and gone to the forest. Having lost faith in their allies, they took to flight. The King gained victory.

After some time, Shujā'at Khān fled away from the fort of Gwalior, and Islām Shāh reached Sarangpur in his pursuit.

5. Mushtāqī's description of the battle, fought between Islām Shāh and the Niāzīs near Ambala is very brief. Nizām-ud Din Ahmad and other writers say that Khāwwās and 'Isā Khān Niāzī were received by the Niāzīs with honour. But Khāwwās Khān fell out with them over the issue of succession to the throne, in case Islām Shāh was destroyed by them. Khawwās Khān wanted Prince 'Ādil Khān to ascend the throne while Āzām Humayūn Niāzī expressed his own desire to assume sovereignty. Khawwās Khān was displeased and he decided to keep himself out of the conflict. cf. *History of Sher Shah Sur*, p. 85.



When he got information about the arrival of the King, (Shujā'at Khān) ran away from Sārangpur to Bansbala (on the border of Gujarat). The King having posted *Masnad-i-'Alī* 'Isā Khān Sūr with twenty-two thousand *sawārs* in Ujjain, turned back and came to the fort of Agra. From there he proceeded towards *mulk-i-bālā* (North-western hilly region of the Punjab) and reached the fort of Mangarh (Mankot). In that region, he built five forts, and named them (i) Sher Garh, (ii) Islam Garh, (iii) Rashid Garh, (iv) Firoz Garh, but the same name (of the locality) Man Garh was retained for the fifth one. These achievements (of Islām Shāh) in that region were such as that (King) Solomon had with the help of the genii. All these five forts still survive in that region and everyone who looks at their height and width is struck by the sight and admires them.

However, Islām Shāh had become disgusted with all the Afghāns and weakened them by all means that he could resort to. He was bent upon ruining them. He did not *pay even a single penny to anyone* of them for two or three years. Being driven to straits, some of the nobles thought of revolting. (They) decided<sup>6</sup> to get rid of him. They persuaded a footman (*piyādā*) that when the king would start for Māngarh (for inspecting the construction work) the footman should come down on the road from the hill like a petitioner to a (narrow) place where only one person could move (and attack the King there). The King rode all (through that place) alone; the footman speedily came up before him crying (like a petitioner), and when he reached the King, he quickly took out the dagger from under his armpit and struck him with it. Nobody was near the King (to save him.) But no sooner he wounded him than the King jumped from the horse on the footman and seized the dagger from him. He also threw him on the ground. The King received a minor wound in his neck and his fingers were also injured a bit.

Daulat Khān Ujyālā<sup>6</sup> who happened to be the beloved of the King, rushed up to the King and got hold of the *Piyādā*,

6. Daulat Khān Ujyāla was one of the sons of Shujā'at Khān Sūr, Sher Shah's *Muqtā'* of Malwa.



saying : 'We should keep watch upon the *plyada* till the truth is investigated'. The King said : 'He would cause the ruin of many houses. He will name (implicate) some innocent persons, therefore, his being kept (into custody) would not do good.' Daulat Khān killed him immediately. An uproar rose in the whole army camp that the king had been killed. The King left the place immediately for his own *sarāpardā*.

Reliable and trusted men were posted along with the chains of war elephants around the royal tent for protection, and a ditch was dug out around it. After much effort and inquiry, the sword was found out as belonging to Karam Ullāh. The King had conferred the title of Iqbāl Khān upon him. Having called Iqbāl Khān in his presence, the King said : 'I have raised you up and (therefore), I feel ashamed (for punishing you). But the punishment to be given to you is that I fix the same one *tankāh* which was your daily allowance (*yaumia*) during the days of your *piyādgī* (when he served as a footman) as your daily allowance and remove you from the rank of nobles ; 'You bear the daily expenses of one thousand and seven hundred rupees (as a noble).'

The elephants, treasures, and the ladies were taken away (from Iqbāl Khān) and declared forfeit to the Khālisā (i.e. the State's property). Certain nobles who were involved in the plot, decided to remove the King and place Mubariz Khān, the brother of the wife of Islām Shāh, on the throne instead. They also became cautious and apprehensive of their life owing to the fear that had seized them. They decided not to go to the court all at once to do obeisance. The King issued (a secret) order for the arrest of these nobles (involved in the Mankot plot) that whenever they would appear together they should be arrested and put to death immediately. While the King was planning as to how he might kill them, all of a sudden, the decree of Providence was issued against the King ; a boil developed in a privy part of his body. He cauterized it with his own hand. Nobody was informed about it. People who had not even heard of the illness of the King, they suddenly heard about his death.



One day, in a state of unconsciousness (caused by pain or physical weakness), the King started repeating certain words (against his habit) in the presence of Tāj Khān Karrānī and some other nobles. When he came to his senses, Tāj Khān Karrānī said : 'Your Majesty, the words came out from the auspicious lips (of His Majesty to which His Majesty) was not accustomed.' The King recited the following couplet (of Hasan Sijzi, a 14th century poet of Delhi):

The lovely ones have given up their ways ;

Hasan also took to another way of conversation.

(Further), he said : 'I thought that I was all powerful and had subdued all (the opponents), but when I myself faced the Most Powerful one (God), I felt myself to be so weak that I was more helpless than an ant. Now I know myself.' In the meanwhile, he closed his eyes and passed away in a moment's time without uttering another word.'

7. The author of the *Tabāqāt-i-Akbari* says that before he died, Islām Shāh said to his wife, Bibi Bai that if she desired her son, Firoz Khān to reign after him, her brother. Mubariz Khān should be removed as he was a danger to his existence. But his wife did not agree and Mubariz Khān was saved.



## CHAPTER XI

# Accession of Mubāriz Khan, entitled as Sultān Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh

On the passing away of Islām Shāh, his son, Firoz Shāh ascended the throne. The nobles who had malice (against Islām Shāh) and favoured Mubāriz Khan (for Kingship), got an opportunity to avail of. They declared Mubāriz Khan as their King under the title of Sultān Muḥammad 'Ādil and killed Firoz Shāh ; the latter reigned for three days. The Sultān (Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh) favoured three persons and asked others : 'Attend upon these three persons, I have favoured them, and others will obey them'. One of them was Bahār Khan Sarwānī, the second (person) Ibrāhim Khan Sūr and the third Shamsheer Khan, the brother of Khawwās Khan. These three persons were given treasures along with *vilayets*. For this reason many nobles got annoyed, and chaos and confusion arose in the army. The nobles who were in the King's service, felt humiliated in serving the nobles.

Hemu, the accursed, with whom people had become fed up during the reign of Islām Shāh, was favoured. He got complete hold over the finances and other affairs of the country. The nobles, posted in the *Mulk-i-bāla* (high lands, i.e. the region in the north-west of the Punjab), received the *farmān* of Sultān Firoz Shāh, son of Islām Shāh, and all of them and the entire army of the frontier (region) having paid allegiance to him, were preparing to convey their greetings along with



presents when the *farmān* of Sultān Muḥammad 'Ādil reached them. They did not obey it as it was unacceptable to all of them. They declared Aḥmad Khān Sūr<sup>1</sup> as their King with the title of Sultān Sikandar and out of the sense of loyalty to Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh, they came out with their army from Rohtas (in the Punjab) and reached Agra for taking revenge against the murderers of Firoz Shāh. At that time 'Ādil (Sultān Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh) had gone to the fort of Chunar to get hold over the treasures (accumulated by Sher Shāh). From there (Chunar) Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr fled away and 'Isā Khān Niāzi<sup>2</sup> was deputed (by 'Ādil Shāh) to pursue him. A battle took place near Kalpi between Ibrāhīm Khān and 'Isā Khān. Ibrāhīm Khān gained victory and turned to Agra. From Agra he proceeded to Delhi where he stayed for two or three days.

On Friday, the nobles brought (the draft of) *Khutbā* to him and sought his permission as to how it should be read? He said that it should be read in conformity with the *Shari'ah* (religious law). On that Friday the *Khutbā* was read in the name of the Caliphs (the pious caliphs of Islam). Ibrāhīm Khān started for Agra (after the reading of the *Khutbā*). After a few days Sikandar appeared in the direction of the city of Delhi. Having got news about Sikandar's (revolt) and the victory of Ibrāhīm Khān (over 'Isā Khān), Adali (Sultān 'Ādil Shāh) started from Chunar and encamped on the bank of the river Jamuna (near Delhi). (Soon) negotiations started (between 'Ādil Shāh and Ibrāhīm Khān). Bahār Khan Sarwani whom (Sultān 'Ādil Shāh) had sent to negotiate (with Ibrāhīm Khān) for peace, joined Ibrāhīm Khān. (Thereupon) 'Adali fled away.<sup>3</sup>

1. Aḥmad Khān Sūr was also the brother-in-law of Sultān 'Ādil Shāh.
2. According to the author of *Afsānah-i Shāhān*, 'Isā Khān Niāzi came down to the court of Sultān Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh after his accession to the throne. *Afsānah-i Shāhān*, f. 165a.
3. According to the author of the *Tarikh-i Khān-i Jahāni*, the nobles who deserted Sultān 'Ādil Shāh in Delhi were Bahār Khān Sarwāni and Rao Husain Jilwāni. On their turning disloyal, the position of Sultān 'Ādil Shāh was considerably weakened and he had therefore retreated to Chunar unsuccessful. *Tarikh-i Khān-i Jahāni*, i/395.



Ibrāhīm and Sikandar came face to face. Ḥabīb Khān Sultānī<sup>4</sup> was with Sikandar. The latter sent him (Ḥabīb Khān) to Mewat to bring Hājī Khān Sultānī<sup>5</sup> (to cooperate with him in the conflict). After meeting each other, they sat down for mutual consultation. Hājī Khān said : 'Sikandar has become King on this side while Ibrahim claims sovereignty on the other side (in Delhi). We are the slaves of Sher Shāh. What should we do now ? The strange people have become Kings and the descendants of Sher Shah [have suffered humiliation.] I shall betray (Ibrāhīm Khān) while you would betray the other (Sikandar). We should remove both of them from our midst. Tell Sikandar that Hājī Khān is coming to join you and you should hasten to receive him.' Hājī Khān conveyed (another) message to Ibrāhīm : 'I acknowledge you (as King) and I am coming to you.' When he reached near his camp (Sikandar's) he did accordingly. Sikandar was waiting for him in the expectation that he would join him. But having arrived near the camp of Sikandar, he galloped his horses towards the camp of Ibrāhīm and joined him.

Ibrāhīm and Sikandar fought a battle near the village Sekhana<sup>6</sup> in which Sikandar achieved victory. Ibrāhīm fled away while Hājī Khān returned to Mewat. Sikandar started in the pursuit of Adālī.<sup>7</sup>

In the meantime the news of the coming of Muḥammad Humāyūn Bādshāh was received. Tātār Khān Kānsi and Ḥabīb Khān (Sultānī) fled away<sup>8</sup> (without putting any resistance) towards *Mulk-i Bala*. At this time *Khan-i-Khānān*

4. Ḥabīb Khan Sultānī was one of the manumitted slaves of Sher Shah.
5. According to Sarwani also he was one of the slaves of Sher Shah, married to the sister of *Masnad-i Ali*, Khawwās Khān.
6. The other medieval writers say that the battle was fought at Farrah, a place on some distance from Agra. *Badā'oni*, ii/424 ; *Firishta*, p. 234.
7. In both the manuscripts the name of 'Adālī is found in this sentence. But it seems that Mushtāqī mentioned Adālī instead of Ibrahim whom Sikandar must have pursued after his victory.
8. Both these generals held the strategic fort of Rohtas in the Punjab from where they had fled to Sikandar Sūr on the appearance of the Mughals in that direction.



Bairam Khān (arrived) in Machhiwara (in the Punjab). He fought against them and put both of them to rout. When Sikandar got this news, he started in person and gave battle to the Pādshāh in Sirhind town but he also took to flight.

Now I resume the account of 'Adāli. He was in Kalpi when Muḥammad Khān Gauriya (the *Muqīd* of Gaur) advanced with an army against him and fought the battle. Since his (Muḥammad Khān's) men did not remain loyal to him and left him alone (on the battle field), he was killed after having exerted heroically. At last, Hemu, the accursed, got complete hold over him (Sultān 'Adil Shāh). He called himself Rājā and did not leave anything with 'Adāli, except the food and water that he continued to supply him. He brought the treasures and the elephants under his own control. Having tightened his grip over the country, he became predominant and divided the country among his own men ; the whole of the country slipped away from under the control of ('Adli Shah). He (Hemu) did not pay any Afghan even a single penny but the men, who had entered his own service, received favours from him. He humiliated all the Afghāns. Even the renowned nobles and famous warriors were so much subdued that he killed them (easily) ; none of the notable men was spared. Even the *Chaudhris* and *Qanungos* were not spared in any place and the *baqāls* (grocers) who belonged to his own caste, were installed in their places.

His terror had seized the Afghāns so much that he called them bad name. (When) he placed the food before them, he said to them : 'so and so are eating.' The Afghāns ate the food, bowing their heads. He arrested them on flimsy charges ; hanged them and killed them, saying : 'The Afghāns say that we have got a few thousand brothers. Where are these brothers ? Why do they not help this brother ?' Everyone of (the Afghāns) passed from before him with his head bowed down. They did not have the courage to raise their head and look at him. He killed the Qāzi of Awadh (town) and (had) the dead body of His Holiness, the Qāzi lying on the ground till he got a few thousand *tankāhs* and then allowed it to be taken away for burial. Seventy Saiyids of the town of Rewari were arrested and put to death (by



Hemu); Islam (the religion) lost its glory and prestige everywhere. It was just possible that Islam might be replaced by infidelity. Cow-slaughter was banned at certain places. He had arrived in Delhi also to establish infidelity. Most of the dignitaries and notables (Muslims) were arrested and thrown into prison but soon Almighty God through his grace and mercy helped and favoured (the cause of) Islam by sending Jalāl-ud Din Muḥammad Akbar Padshāh against him. Hemu released the (aforesaid) notables (of Delhi) saying: 'It is all right. When I return from this expedition (*i.e.* the battle of Panipat), I shall settle their affair.' These persons got freedom and that accursed (one) marched on, and was killed by the slaves of His Majesty, the *Padshāh-i Ghāzi*. People were thus granted a new lease of life; Islām was strengthened and the world became fresh and prosperous. Verse: You marked such was the state of affair in the beginning, the Musalman was hard pressed everywhere.

On the first occasion, when Amir Tardi Beg fought against Hemu (at Tughlaqābād) the beggars and ignobles of the city had done harm to the Mughals. At the time when Hemu was killed, (the Mughals) had re-entered Delhi having that grievance and, though *Khan-i-Āzam* Sikandar Khān had decided to massacre people (of Delhi), yet the arrival of the noble and martyred Khān, *Khan-i-Khānān* Bairam Khān at the same moment by the grace of God (saved people). (Bairam Khan) showed clemency to all people; they were granted amnesty and ensured security of property. Nobody was allowed to occupy anybody's house. If somebody had forcibly occupied any house, he was turned out from there.

The people of the city who were left with no life in their body due to the fear (of the Mughals), began to thank God as soon as they saw the kindness and consideration (on the part of Bairam Khān). The author of this good treatment towards people were (first) the late Khān (Bairam Khān) gifted with good fortune and religiousity, and, the second was (Bairam Khān's) friend, his holiness, Haji, *Shaikh-ul-Mashāikh*,



Shaikh Gadai<sup>9</sup>. They exerted themselves to the utmost in this regard. Whenever a just ruler had a learned and practical associate, the results are always nice (perfect).

As Adāli killed Sultān Muḥammad Gauriya, Hemu, the accursed, arrived in this direction (Delhi) and he himself proceeded to Bihar where the son of Gauriya (Muḥammad Khān of Gaur) had assumed Kingship. A battle was fought between them. From the beginning of the reign of Adāli till today, *i.e.* the year A.D. 980 (A.D. 1572), hostility and conflict of arms still persist among the Afghāns. God knows what will be His will.

9. Bairam Khān appointed Shaikh Gadai as *Sadr* of the Mughal Empire, and the latter retained this post till Bairam Khān's fall in 1560.



## CHAPTER XII

# The Sultāns of Malwa

### Anecdote about Sultān Ghiyath-ud Din Khalji, the King of Mandu

Sultān Ghiyāth-ud Din Khalji, the King of Māndu (Malwa) was an extremely righteous, religious-minded and truth-loving man. He was a careful observer of religion and enjoyed the pleasures of the world as well. It was his custom that he kept every night a few thousand gold *mohurs* (coins) under his pillow, and in the day distributed them to the deserving persons. There were seventy women in his *harem* (seraglio) who knew the Qurān by heart. Every time when the Sultān dressed himself, they recited the Qurān according to (the royal) order, and in the course of time he (the Sultān) put on his clothes, they also completed their recitation and blew their breath upon him.

One day, a person brought a hoof of an ass, and said ; 'it is the hoof of the ass of Christ (may peace be on him).' He gave him fifty thousand *tankāhs*, and took that hoof from him. However, four persons brought four hoofs, each calling the hoof (in his possession) as that of the ass of Christ. He took them all, and gave fifty thousand *tankāhs* to each one of them. Later on, another person came with another hoof, and he was also ordered to be given fifty thousand *tankāhs*. Some one from amongst his courtiers observed : 'My Lord. as an ass has only four feet, and I have never heard that any one had five, perhaps the ass of Christ might have had five feet.'



The Sultān replied : 'Who knows whether this man speaks the truth or those (spoke the truth) who had appeared before him. Go and pay him also fifty thousand *tankas*.'

Besides, he had ordered private servants and personal attendants that when he was busy with the enjoyment of pleasures, or engaged in any wordly pursuit' they should take a piece of cloth before him, and tell him that it was his coffin. They did accordingly, and he took (it) as a warning. He would at once get up, perform his ablutions, beseech (divine) forgiveness and engage in offering prayer to God. In his *harem* also he had ordered the maid-servants : 'When I am asleep, wake me up, and in case I do not get up, sprinkle water upon me or pull me off from the bed so that night prayer may not be neglected. If I am participating in a pleasure party, and the time for the night prayer arrives, you take me away by the hand.' Never any sad news or improper word was spoken in his presence. Neither he had seen the intoxicants with his own eyes nor heard of them.

One day a tonic (*mā'jūn*) was prepared for him, and when it was ready, he was informed about it. He said that untill he had heard about all the ingredients of it, it was not to be brought to him. The list (of its ingredients) was brought and read to him. He heard it. There was three hundred and more ingredients in it and among them was also mixed one gram of (nutmeg). (As he heard of it) he said : 'This *mā'jūn* is of no use to me.' More than a hundred thousands of *tankāhs* had been spent on (its preparation). He ordered it to be brought and thrown into the hearth. A person begged that it might be given to somebody else. He replied : What I cannot consider lawful for me, how can I consider it lawful for others.'

One day, the royal horse on which he used to ride fell sick, and when it was reported to him, he ordered medicines to be given to it. Next day the horse was completely cured. He asked if it was well. People told him that it was well. Then he asked whether it recovered of itself or some medicines had been given to it. They told him that it had been administered medicine. Further, he asked as to what medicine had been given to it. They said what the physicians



had prescribed. The Sultān understood that 'it might be something (prohibited by religion) and therefore they would not name it. He ordered the horse to be taken away from his stable and set free in the jungle. (People) requested him that such a horse should not be set free in the forest, but should be made over to somebody. Again, the King said the same thing: 'What I do not approve of for myself, how can I allow it to others.'

Once, one of the neighbours of Shaikh Maḥmūd Nu'mān, the *hājib* of the Sultān, set off from Delhi as other people had gone away to Mandu and came back with *futūḥ* (unasked financial help or offering usually made to some saintly person). He also went (to Mandu) and said to Shaikh Maḥmūd: 'Having thought of the (generosity of) the King, I have come from Delhi, for I have to arrange the marriage of my daughter. Make the King give me financial help.' The Shaikh replied that he would himself give him as much as he required. He said: 'I do not want (it) from you. As certain other people have got from the King, I should also get it (from him) and go back. It will raise my prestige in my *qaum* (clan or class) that I have obtained the bounty from the King of Mandu.' The Shaikh suggested to him: 'What I give, you may represent it as having been received from the King, for who will know that it is not (an offering) from the King.' He said: 'when my well-wisher (the Shaikh) is such that he only minds to serve his own end, and does not care for others (I will not accept your help).' The Shaikh said: 'Other people who had come, were the descendants of respectable men and I had them given *imlāk* (land-grants) in the name of their ancestors, or they themselves possessed merit which I could praise. You possess neither nobility nor merit, how should I recommend you to the King.' The man answered: 'I do not know (anything). But I have come to you. You know much better, and you must by some means or help me visit the King, who is generous, and he will give me whatever my fate has ordained.' The Shaikh found himself in a difficulty. When he went to the royal place, this man also followed him. When they reached the gate of the palace, where the wheat was being weighed for distribution



to the beggars, the Shaikh asked the man to take a handful of wheat. He went and brought the wheat. (The Shaikh) gave him his handkerchief, saying : 'tie the grains in it and keep it safely.' He did accordingly.

When the Shaikh entered the royal presence, this man also followed and stood behind him. The King asked (the Shaikh) : 'Who is the man, standing behind you ?' The Shaikh moved ahead and said : 'He is a *hafiz* (one who learns the Quran by heart) and has come from Delhi, and brought some grains of wheat, over everyone of which he has recited the whole of the Quran.' The King said : 'Then I ought to go to him. Why have you brought him here ?' The Shaikh replied : 'He is not such a worthy man that the King should go to him.' The King said : 'Let him be what he is, but the gift that he has brought is such that I should go on my head.' The Shaikh submitted : 'Your Majesty may act according to his intention. But I, as the servant of the exalted court, fear that the ministers of the age will blame me for taking the King to an unworthy person.' The King remarked : 'You should not go on the outward appearance (of the man) but regard the thing which concerns religion and the soul.' At last the Shaikh decided that the man would present himself in the *Jāmi'masjid* on Friday and His Majesty might receive the gift from him there. The King said : 'It is all right.' As the man reached (the mosque) on Friday, Shaikh Maḥmūd reminded the King (about him) as soon as the prayers were over. The King directed the Shaikh to ask the man to ascend the pulpit. When he did so, the King spread out his *dāman* (lower part of the shirt) before him, and the man cast the grains from above (the pulpit) into his *dāman*. He placed (the grains) upon his head, kept them and ordered the man to be given one lac *tankās*. It is good luck. When people are good, they have good time and benevolent rulers.

Another day the Sultān<sup>1</sup> said to his intimates in the private assembly: 'I have collected some thousands of women

1. This story has been incorporated by Nizām-ud Din Aḥmad and Firishta both in their accounts of Sultān Ghiyath-ud Din Khalji of Malwa in their respective works, *Tabqat-i Akbari* (vol. III) and Firishta's *Tarikh-i Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Newal Kishore Press.



(in the *harem*) but the face that I fancy within me, has not yet been found.' Of the associates, one said: 'The men who were entrusted with this work, they have never seen a beautiful person and cannot discern (beauty). If this poor man is ordered (to search such a one), perhaps (a beautiful woman) agreeable to the ideal of the King may be found out and brought.' The Sultān said: 'I ask you also to carry on the search.' Having got the permission, he rose up. As he left (the Sultān) he was called back and asked: 'can you discern a beautiful person? First you must explain to my satisfaction as to who is a beautiful person?' He said: 'My Lord, in the opinion of the slave a beautiful one is such a person, that the beholder having seen any part of her body, is unable to move his glance from there to any other part; for instance, if he sees her feet (or) hand, he should not desire to see her face or eyes, and in case he sees her from the backside, he be completely captivated, and may not desire to see her from the frontside. In the opinion of the slave, such a one is called beautiful.' The King appreciated this remark and asked as to where such a beautiful lady could be found. The man said: 'the servant be granted four months' time; wherever the maiden, possessing such an attractive appearance is found, I shall obtain her in any possible way. I shall take the round of the entire *vilāyet* (the kingdom of Malwa), and if I survive, I shall not return unsuccessful.' The Sultān permitted him to go. He wandered all over the *vilāyet*; but could not come across (such a girl) anywhere.

One day he saw a girl from behind who possessed the qualities he was looking for. He went up to her and saw that she was really like what he was looking for. He inquired from her: 'I want to stay in the village. Is there any place to stay in?' She answered in the affirmative. Then he stayed there and thought out an excuse to spend a few days there by feigning illness; then he got himself shaved. He remained there for a few days. He had the girl kidnapped by the thieves, and stayed there for a few days more. Afterwards, he left for the palace where the kidnappers were asked to wait for him. He took the girl along with him to his house. After a month's time, he took her to the King who was greatly pleased.



By chance, the villagers came to know that the man who stayed (in their village), had taken away the girl.<sup>2</sup> They came to Mandu and the man got the news of their arrival (in Mandu). He hid himself at a place and asked his friends to inform him when the matter was settled and the villagers were satisfied by the King, so that he might come out. He did not tell (the King) the way in which he had obtained the girl. He rather told him that he obtained her by paying so many thousands (*tankahs*) to her parents.

When the King left the mosque (after congregational prayer) on Friday, the villagers came to him praying for justice. They said that such and such a man had kidnapped their daughter and the kidnapper brought her (to Mandu). As he heard their complaint, the Sultān lost the strength to take a step (further) and could not stand on the ground. He sat down at the same spot, called the *'ulama* and said to them: 'You should pass whatever judgement you can announce in conformity with the law of *shari'at* against me.' When the villagers heard him in this way (confessing), they understood that their daughter had been brought to the royal palace. They said: 'We came to demand justice against the man but we were not aware of this fact; now we know that she is in the service of the King; we are willing (to leave her with the King) of our free own. Since she has become a Muslim, we have now nothing to do with her. However, we wanted to seek justice against the man who had kidnapped her. As we have been acquainted with the fact, we now feel honoured and satisfied.'

The *'ulamā* said to the Sultān, 'Whatever is done out of ignorance, is a mistake (and not a sin) and there is no need of it being compensated.' The Sultān said to them: 'You should not try to please me, I am willing to accept whatever is the solution according to the *Shara*. If (my sin) can be com-

2. Nizāmu'd-Din Ahmad, obviously depending on the *Waqi'āt-e-Mushtāqī* says in the third volume of his *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* that the villagers had come to know even the name and the whereabouts of the kidnapper in some way or the other. This is also implicit in the details of Mushtaqi, but his defective style makes it a bit difficult for the reader to get this hint.



pensated by putting me to death, you should do it, immediately.' When the '*ulamā* explained the position to him in their different speeches, he was then convinced. At that time the friends informed the kidnapper about the matter, and he left his place and came to the King. The latter said to him: 'O' unfortunate fellow, You have spoilt my faith.' He replied: 'As I wandered in the entire *vilayet* in search, I found her having all the qualities that I wanted in a woman, therefore, I gained my objective.' Thereafter the Sultān did not demand (other) woman, and stopped (acquiring them).

One day while the Sultān was sitting (with his courtiers) he said: 'I have got an unfulfilled desire in my heart, viz. *Makhdūm Khwājā Husain Nāgauri* is living in my time but I have not seen him. It's a matter of regret'. "Some one asked, what was the obstacle in his way. The Sultān answered: 'He is the real (spiritual) King. What for should he come here? If I go (to him) in the *vilayet*, belonging to another person, many ill consequences will follow, even then it is not certain that I will be able to see him. I have heard about him that he has no inclination towards the worldly people.' Shaikh 'Abdul 'Azīz, one of the relations of *Makhdūm Shaikh Husain*, said to the Sultān: 'I have thought out a device by which I will bring *Khwājā Husain* here.' The Sultān said: 'If you perform this service, you take one lac *tankas* as travelling allowance, and (in addition to it), I shall make a *mā'ash*-grant (land-grant) worth one lac *tankas*'. He left for Nāgaur and paid the visit to His Holiness there. When he had kissed the feet of the Shaikh, the latter asked him: 'My brother, 'Abdul 'Aziz where had you been and wherefrom have you come?' He replied: 'I was in Mandu and I have come from there to serve your Holiness. I have also brought happy tidings.' The *Khwājā* asked as to what it was about. He told him that the hairs of the Prophet of Islam (peace be on him) are (preserved) in the fort of Mandu. As soon as he heard this news, he got up and left for Mandu in an ecstatic state. When he had already walked up to three *krohs* in the same condition, Firūz Khān<sup>3</sup>,

3. During this period Firuz Shah was an independent ruler of Nāgaur principality.



the *muqtā'* of Nāgaur got information about his programme, came to him and made proper arrangement for his journey. He (the *muqtā'*) came back (after he had supplied) horses, camels, carts and tents (to him). His Holiness set off. When he reached near Mandu and caught the sight of its fort, he again started dancing in ecstasy. Shaikh 'Abdul 'Aziz was walking ahead of him. He made no mention of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn before the Khwājā; he had mentioned only the sacred hairs. Therefore, the Khwājā was going there out of love to see the holy relics. As soon as the Sultān got information of his coming, at once he and his son, Naṣir-uḍ Din, rushed and received the Khwājā. Both of them placed their heads upon his feet, but the Khwājā cast his eyes towards the sky, said to 'Abdul 'Aziz: 'You have played fraud upon me.' Shaikh 'Abdul 'Aziz replied: 'My Lord, I have played no fraud, they are the custodians of the holy relics (hairs)'. The Khwājā asked why there was delay in his having a look at them. Thereupon, the Sultān raised his head from his foot and hastened to bring the relics to him. He brought two vials, full of scents and each one had a hair. Both of them (the Sultān and his son) brought the vials each having one in his hands. His Holiness, the Khwājā recited *darūd* (prayer for the Prophet). It happened that when the Khwājā recited the *darūd*, the ends of both the hairs came out a little from the vials and soon afterwards flew in the air and then came into the hands of His Holiness. He touched them with his eyes and was blessed in this way. At that time the Sultān benefited from kissing his feet. Keeping the hair in the vials, he followed the Khwājā who moved on dancing (in ecstasy), and thus reached the royal seraglio.

The Sultān had ordered all his women in the *harem* to make offering to the Khwājā. Everyone of them presented money from her treasure, and sprinkled perfumes and showered flowers. His Holiness tied the flowers to his head and back, but the treasures were collected by the servants and grooms into two bundles. After it, the Khwājā came out and gave over both the bundles (of money) to a flute-player. He placed both his hands around the neck of the



flute-player who (began) to play on his flute. The Khwājā recited devotional verses and continued to move on till he reached a lane where the qazi of the city had also arrived. The qazi was a Saiyid. He said to the Khwājā : 'You are a learned man but you are putting on (garlands) of flowers. Man is not permitted (by the religious law) to put on (the garlands) of flowers.' He replied : 'My lord, the (flowers) are permitted to me. I am putting on them out of love for your ancestor (the Prophet).' Here I am reminded of the verse :

O Cypress : I am happy for you bear resemblance to someone.

O flower : I am pleased for you have fragrance like my beloved.

The Khwājā went to the palace reserved for him and stayed there for two months. Sultān Ghiyās-ud Din came to him daily with pen and inkpot, sat before him from the morning till evening and wrote down (the Khwājā's) *Malfūz* (sayings). When the *malfūz* was complete, (the Sultān) requested the saint to give it a name. He named it as *Asrār-ul-nabi* (the mysteries of the Prophet). The saint also compiled a work on law and called it after the name of the Prophet. He wrote commentary on the Quran in thirty volumes and named this work as *Anwār-ul-Nabi* (the Light of the Prophet). He set up a garden and named it as '*Rasul Bari*. He had a tank constructed in Nagaur and named it Mustafa 'Sāgar.'

In short, the Khwājā had a large number of relations. On the day of his departure (from Mandu), Sultān Ghiyās-ud Din requested him : 'Your Holiness, since your servants have graced this place, I request you to give me the happy news about my fate in the life hereafter.' The saint said : 'Almighty God has forgiven you. You will not be accounted for your doings in the world before Him.' The Sultān said : 'If you give me in writing, it will be taken to the grave (along with my body).' The Khwājā wrote it down : 'If Almighty asks you to give an account (of your doings in the world), it (the letter) will serve as a surety.'

The people talked about the surety the Shaikh had stood in divine matters, since the matters of the hereafter are



unknown. Someone told the Shaikh about the kind of remarks people made. He said (in reply): 'It may be discussed (by people), but so long as Sultān Ghiyās-ud Din is alive, his end is unknown. When his death will take place everybody will say that "he passed away as a pious man". Ultimately when his son, Naṣir-ud Din, revolted against his father, the gentle Sultān was killed. Then every one said that he had passed away in all peity.

Further, no sad thing was ever uttered before Sultān Ghiyas-ud Din. One day, his son-in-law passed away; his daughter who used to come to him daily for paying her respects could not turn up for two or three days. He wanted to know why he had not seen her. (The inmates) told him that she was not wearing proper dress. When he asked the reason, (he was told that she was wearing the mourning dress).

At another time, Sultān Bahlul (Lodi) had raided the town of Alhanpur near the fort of Ranthambore and went back after he had plundered it. The nobles wanted to inform the Sultān about it but as it was a sad news, none had the courage to do it. Since it was an affair relating to the kingdom, it was necessary for them to inform the Sultān (in some way or the other). They thought out a way to inform him. They engaged a few dancers and directed them (to inform the Sultān in course of their performance). Then they told the Sultān that the merchant of the dancers had arrived and sought permission to stage his show in the royal presence. The Sultān fixed some time for him; as the time arrived, the dancers turned up, fixed a curtain between them and the audience, dressed themselves after the fashion of the *bhands* (jesters) and then appeared on the stage playing on *Dotara* (a musical instrument) like the Afghāns and sang Afghāni songs (Pushto compositions). Some of them ran away with bundles on their heads while others were brought from behind the curtain with ropes around their necks (like prisoners). The Sultān was surprised and asked (as to what it all meant). Then he was told the actual fact. He said: 'Is Sher Khān Sultānī<sup>4</sup> dead or alive?' He did not utter any

4. Sher Khān was the *muqtā'* of the territory of Chanderi. He rebelled against Sultān Nāsir Shāh, the successor of Sultān Ghiyas-ud Din Khalji and was killed in the conflict.



other word except it. Sher Khān the muqta' of Chanderi, having invaded Hindaun,<sup>5</sup> plundered it and then turned back. He was ordered to plunder only one place and come back.

He had collected a large number of women in his *harem*. He also established a market in his *harem* and everything (that came to the bazar of the city) including valuable things and women were available there. There were (established) cattle-market and *chaugan*-ground in the *harem*. Even the butts to shoot arrows at were also supplied in the *harem*. Whatever he desired, he enjoyed it inside the *harem*. He even made shopping in the (bazar in his) *harem* by way of enjoyment.

During his reign of thirty years, he had been away from his palace only twice. Once, when a temple was built in Jodhpur. First, the Sultān sent the *qāzi* of Mandu to demolish it with the order that, in case the (custodians of the temples) did not obey him, he would stay there and send for him (the Sultān). When the *qāzi* arrived there, the infidels did not obey the royal order. They said: 'How could Ghiyāṣ-ud Din find time from his indulgence to convey this news (orders).' The *qāzi* informed the Sultān about (their remark). The Sultān marched from Mandu and having continued his march even at night, reached Jodhpur in the morning. He punished the infidels, demolished the temple. It was called 'Akash devi' (temple) by the local people as (it was believed) that it (the idol) had fallen from heaven. In Hindi *Akash* means sky. This was the (first) occasion when he had rode out from Mandu. The second time, he went to Nalchha, two *krohs* away from Mandu, to enjoy the sight of tanks, gardens and villas.

Nne among the Kings has been, simultaneously, given to so much indulgence as well as prayers. He kept ladies adept in archery who stood in a circle with bows in their hands at their place in the *harem*. They were also required to practise shooting tipless arrows continuously. They threw up balls by cross-bows and then kettledrums were beaten in

5. Hindaun was a *pargana* headquarter attached to the *sarkār* of Bayana. The *A'in* mention it as included in Agra *sarkar*.



every direction so long as the balls were thrown in the air. When they were ordered to stop, the throwing of balls was stopped.

When his son, Naṣir-ud Din turned against the Sultān, he gave him poison in *sharbat* (drink) three times and also told him in plain words that it was necessary for him to drink. The Sultān sent the message to him: 'You may assume kingship and rule over (the kingdom) as my end is near. Why do you commit the sin of killing me.' Everytime he sent him poisoned drink, he (the Sultān) drank it, and then put the ring of bezon-stone that he had in his finger in his mouth, and thus the effect of poison was neutralized. At last Naṣir-ud Din decided to murder him and carried out his plan. But so long as the women archers had arrows with them, none (of the assassins sent by Naṣir-ud Din) could reach the royal apartment. When the arrows were exhausted, the rebels entered the palace and killed him, and the Sultān eventually had reunion with God.

I have heard it from Malik Ḥussām-ud Din Khalji, who said: 'I was present when the dead body of Sultān Ghiyas-ud Din (mercy of God be on him) was being washed, and three persons, one *imām*, second Hājib, and the third one was also from among his close associates, all of whom happened to be the learned men, (supervised the ritualistic washing of the body). One of them washed the body, and the other two supplied water to him. Having washed the upper half of the body, he decided to wash the lower part also. He tried his level best to wash his testicles but could not succeed. Everytime the Sultān raised his legs and placed them on his chest (to prevent him from touching his privy parts of the body). The ring that (the Sultān) had in his finger was also lost at that time. All these three persons were nervous over his loss of the ring as they feared that Sultān Nāṣir-ud Din would kill them. They prayed to God that for the sake of Sultān Ghiyas-ud Din in whose saintliness there was no doubt, the ring might be recovered. The man who was washing the body, had concealed the ring (in his turban). When he moved towards the feet for washing them, the pious Sultān (Ghiyas-ud Din) hit him on his chest with such a force that he was struck against the wall and severely hurt; the ring also fell down from his turban. Then, the Sultān stretched his legs.'



## CHAPTER XIII

# Reign of Sultān Nāsir-ud Din Shāh

Upon the passing away (of Sultān Ghiyas-ud Din), Nāsir-ud Din ascended the throne. He too was given to indulgence and drinks. He toured his kingdom. He used to take a few hundred ladies of his harem along with many others and moved with female contingent in a (particular) direction hunting on the way, while the army (of men) followed him by some other route. He built at many places palaces, tanks and *ahu-Khānās* (deer-park) for animals. The remains of (his buildings) are still (found) in the *vilayet*.

He constructed villas in the village of Kaliyada in the *khiṭṭā* (unit) of Ujjain. He had a dam constructed over the river there by the help of the experts to supply water to his tanks. One day he was sitting on the bank of the tank in the palace with his feet in the water when Dildār Aghācha whom he had honoured with the title of *Nadima-i Majlis* (companion of the assembly) arrived there. He asked her to recite some couplet, appropriate for the occasion. She recited the following couplet spontaneously :

Water is coming from a long distance for a tall-statured one,

It is striking its head against the stones out of a desire to kiss his feet.

He was greatly pleased and said : 'The reward for (such an apt reciting) is that kingship should be bestowed upon you, but it does not fit in upon a woman. However, I confer all powers upon you.' He did it so.



He had great liking for water. The reason for it was that he had once put quicksilver in his mouth and, by chance, it went down his throat and could not come out, in spite of all efforts. It caused extreme heat in his body. One day he said to *Malik-ul-Hukmā* (the Chief Physician): 'You have thought out no remedy for my complaint (heat).' *Malik-ul-Hukmā*, said: 'When the hail stone rains, you should take it as much as you can.' The day when the hail-stone fell, the *Malik-ul-Hukmā*, got bags of lead and filled them with hail-stones, and crushed them. In this way he collected thirty seers of water, and having dissolved certain medicines in it, presented it to the Sultān. He told him the quantity in which he was to use it daily, saying: 'When the hail-stone rains again, I shall prepare more for you.' Since the time he began to take the medicine (he felt improvement and) his heat was greatly reduced.

Another day, the Sultān said to the *Malik-ul-Hukmā*: Inside the *harem* there were two orange trees on the bank of the tank and whenever did I sit on the bank, I looked at them. One of the trees has dried up. Is there any remedy to turn it green again?' The physicians desired to see the tree, and he was taken there. The physician opened the buttons of his shirt and embraced the trunk of the tree. He left the tree after some time, and said that it was possible to turn it green again. 'But somebody should be ordered to bring the things that were required for it.' First he had the ground around the tree dug and asked people to pour molasses, extracted from various vegetations in it daily and the tree became green in forty days.

Another (anecdote). A man had an ailing son who was completely cured by (the *Malik-ul-Hukmā*). (The father of the boy) held a banquet which *Malik-ul-Hukmā* also joined. The child who had been treated, came to pay his respects to him. When the latter embraced him, the wrist of the child touched his back, and he at once studied his pulse. (As he came to know of his real condition), the *Malik-ul-Hukmā* refused to take food, and left for his home, saying: 'He is going to die soon and it was not lawful to take food.'



Another day the Sultān tried to test the knowledge of the physician. He sent three bottles, each containing the urine of a sick woman, a monkey and a buffalo. The bottles were brought to him. He gave them to his slave, who stood up and showed them to him. He smiled and said that one (of the patients) should be given medicine with warm water, the other was to be given the boiled seeds of cotton mixed with such and such things, while the third was to be loosened and set free. All the three would get cured. Salutations.'

Upon the death of Sultān Nasir-ud Din, chaos spread in the kingdom, the followers of Islam suffered indignities and the infidels became predominant. During this anarchy, many persons left (Malwa) for different places. *Malik-ul-Hukmā*, *Malik-ul-Fuzalā* (the Chief of the learned men) and 'Ālam Khān, who were the perfect scholars and leading intellectuals of the age, along with Dildār Aghāchā, who held the title of *Nadima-i-Majlis* turned towards Sultān Sikandar (Lodi). 'Ālam Khān died after some time but *Malik-ul-Fuzalā* and *Malik-ul-Hukmā* survived (under Sultān Sikandar) for long. When Khwājgi Shaikh Sa'id informed the Sultān about *Nadima-i-Majlis* and praised her intelligence, good qualities and learning, the Sultān allowed her to see him. He talked to her and then observed: 'She possesses much intelligence but she is a lady and is therefore not worthy of being an associate. It is better for her to live under veil.' She did not stay (at the court of Sultān Sikandar). Of the two persons, who had stayed, *Malik-ul-Fuzalā*, who happened to be a military man, was sent along with Shaikh Manjhū to Chanderi, for he had familiarity with the region and local people could turn to him (due to their old association with him), *Malik-ul-Hukmā* was kept at the court.

Once he (*Malik-ul-Hukmā*) was sent to Sultān Mūzaffar Shāh of Gujarat as an envoy (of Sultān Sikandar Lodi). As soon as he caught the sight of the Sultān (Mazaffar Shāh), he placed his left hand on his knee and saluted him. When he reached near him, he said: '*al-salam alekum*' (peace be on you). He had taken the copy of the *Qur'ān* as a present to the Sultān. The Sultān (of Gujarat) asked him about all the three things. First, the Sultān asked: 'Why did you



place your left hand on your knee while saluting me?' He answered: 'Because I had the letter of the Sultan (Sikandar) in my right hand.' Again the Sultān asked: 'How was it necessary to bring the *Qur'ān* to me?' He said: ('I have brought it) for your benefit.' 'How?' asked the Sultān. He replied: 'I am an *'ālim* (learned man) and, in case, you do not show regard to me, you would be accountable for it (before God). Since there was the *Qur'ān* between us, you became respectful and for its sake the *'ālim* has also been shown regard.' Third time, he asked: 'You had already saluted me from a distance, so what was the further need for you to say *'al-salam alekum*?' He replied: 'It was not under my control but I had to do it; whatever is in accordance with the tradition of the Prophet, I have followed it.' Lastly, the Sultān asked: (People) 'like you are with Sultān Sikandar (Lodi) why do you not ask him to respect the religious command and grow the beard. He acts according to expediency (regardless of the religious commands).' *Malik-ul Hukmā* said: 'There are *'ulamā*, they must have told him whatever is a religious command.'

Upon his return, Sultān Sikandar asked him as to how he defended himself alone (in the presence of Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh). He said (in reply): 'I answered whatever he asked me and I did not go beyond it.' The Sultān said: 'You should have told him that I follow Khwāja Nizāmī and Shaikh Sādi. My beard is quite thin, if I allow it to grow, many (persons) would become sinners (by making fun of it). For this reason I do not wear it'. *Malik-ul Hukmā* said: 'I did not know it.' It is a well-known fact, yet I have put it down on account of its relevance here.

To resume the account, Sultān Nasir-ud Din as was his practice, reached near a village in course of one of his recreation tours and the *Sarāpardā* was pitched there. The village women came to the royal *sarāpardā*, singing and keeping the cups full of water on their heads according to their custom (to offer greetings to the Sultān). The Sultān ordered (the servants) to remove the curtain and let them get inside. They came in, stood (before the Sultān) and prayed for him. Among the women was a young girl who was looking



at the Sultān, by raising her head from behind her mother's back. By chance, the Sultan also caught sight of the girl, and asked as to which caste the girl standing behind the back of the woman belonged. The women told the Sultān that she was the daughter of the same woman (behind whose back she stood) and belonged to the *Kalul* caste who made utensils. The Sultān asked whether she was married or not. They told him that she was (still) unmarried. (The Sultān) pressed further and asked "You are not speaking a lie". They said, 'No' (thereupon) the Sultān inquired from the other (women). They too said (the same thing). Being convinced, the Sultān asked (her mother) whether she would agree to give her to him in marriage. She answered: 'I accept the royal proposal with all pleasure.' The Sultān ordered her to go back to her house as he himself intended to reach there. A building was raised near the halting post and the marriage ceremony was performed there. The brothers of the girl were favoured and raised to dignity. She was brought to (the newly-built) house where the Sultān stayed for two months. She (the newly-wed girl) was granted the title, Rānī Pūtli and soon became the Sultān's favourite.

One day the Sultān became displeased (with Rānī Pūtli). During this period, the villas, the foundations of which were laid down by the royal order in the forts of Mandu and Saronj, had been completed under the supervision of Ārāish Khān Shīrāzī. Two months had passed since the Sultān had stopped speaking to Rānī Pūtli. She also had not put on white clothes during this period. She conveyed a message to Ārāish Khān that he should remember her to the Sultān in some way or the other. He said that he would do it whenever he got an opportunity. When the (newly-built) villas were ready, Ārāish Khān informed the Sultān that they were ready and should be visited. The Sultān ordered him first to allot the villas to the royal ladies and inform him when all of them were accommodated there. Ārāish Khān went there, allotted the villas to the royal ladies; he found Rānī Pūtli in soiled clothes. He said to her: 'You should not change your dress as you look quite attractive in it.' The very purpose of the dress is the decoration (of the body). There was,



however, no need of the mediator as her dress would serve her purpose. Every lady was allotted a beautiful and well-furnished villa. There was a white villa with an agreeable courtyard and white walls which was allotted to Rānī Pūtli. He fixed a place there for her to stand at the time of the royal visit to the place and asked her to salute the Sultān from the same place without moving onward, for His Majesty himself would come to her and also do justice to him (i.e., Ārāish Khān of his intelligence (in supervising the construction work)).

When the Sultān went to the place, she (Rānī Pūtli) stood in the same way as she was told, with a sad face, looking downward and bowing her head. She was wearing soil-coloured dress. She saluted the Sultān from that place where she stood; she did not move. When the eye of the Sultān fell on her, he paused and began to think of her. Everyone (of the ladies) appeared before him in different clothes, embroidered with gold and saluted him but he did not stop. Unlike the others, he found Rānī Pūtli in the same soil-coloured clothes in which he had seen her before his marriage with her. His love (for her) was refreshed, he held her hand and took her inside the apartment. Verse : The first sight had its effect, and the forgotten love affair again became fresh. She began to shed tears and, thereupon, the Sultān cleaned her face with his own handkerchief. She burst into tears, the Sultān cleaned the tears on her cheeks with his own handkerchief and embraced her.

Sultan Nasir-ud Din was much given to indulgence and had much liking for games inside the tank of water. He always entered the tank along with women and played in their company. The game, *abr-i Naṣir-Shāhi*<sup>1</sup> was his own invention. The cloth, *Jāmā-i Yaktara* was also made under his instruction. When the ladies entered the tank, they put on coloured garments (of this cloth) and they were thus saved from being all naked. He also died in the water. The fact (about) his death is as follows: One day, as usual, he

1. *Abr* literally means to cross the water or enter it. In the absence of details provided by any medieval writer, it is difficult to explain the way in which the game *abr-i Nasir Shahi* was played. But it seems probable that it was something similar to water polo.



entered the water while he was drunk. As he was getting drowned, the ladies who happened to be near him, caught hold of his hairs and pulled him out from the water. When he came to his senses, he asked: 'I had entered the water, but I do not remember how I came out.' They told him: 'Your Majesty took a dip in the water in intoxication and was drowning, but the hairs of Your Majesty were over the water. We the servants made efforts and brought you out from the water.' He said : 'since my hairs were over the water, perhaps you might have caught hold of them.' (He got infuriated and) killed eight of them who had saved him. On another occasion, (again), as he entered the tank in intoxication, he met the same fate, no body tried to save him and he was drowned.



## Amīn Shāh and Hoshang Shah

Amīn Shāh<sup>1</sup> was a warden of marches. He used to inspect the high-ways from the frontier of Gujarat to the fort of Nagaur and extended protection to the travellers between these places. One day a merchant arrived with a large following, Amīn Shāh, according to his practice, demanded (custom) duty. The merchant said: 'I am a trader, attached to Sultān Firoz, who had constructed the fort of Karnal, and I am taking grain thither.' Amīn Shāh replied: 'You may be whatever you are. Pay me the due and go away.' He said: 'If you do not realise custom-duty from me, I am going to the King and shall induce him to grant you this *vilayet* and send the royal document along with a horse and *Khila't*. Do you prefer this or the (custom) duty?' Amīn Shāh said that if this were done, he also would become one of the servants of the King, and serve him to the best of his ability. He allowed the merchant to pass. When the merchant came to the Sultān, he submitted to him: 'A man, Amīn Shāh by name, is the *zamindar* of Mandu. He has all the roads (in that region) under his control. If he is granted a *farmān*,

1. Dilāwar Khān Ghōri, the founder of the Kingdom of Malwa seems to have been a noble of Sultān Firoz Shāh, as his career under the latter Tughlaq rulers shows. There are references to him, found in the contemporary works, such as the *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, by Bihmad Khani, the *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi* by Yāhyā Sirhindi and the historical works produced in Gujarat. Mushtaqi seems to have incorporated bazar gossips about the rise of Amīn Shāh into prominence.



conferring upon him (the government of) the country of Mandu (Malwa), which is completely desolate, he will restore prosperity to it.' The King sent the *farmān*, a *khil'at*, and a horse through the same merchant. The latter went there, handed over all of them to him and Amin Shāh accepted the suzerainty of the Sultān. From that day onward, Amin Shāh gave up walking on foot and took to riding. He also provided his followers with horses (to ride), and employed (other) *sawārs* (troopers) and brought prosperity to the *vilāyet*. His son, named Hoshang succeeded him after his death and he assumed sovereignty.

### Hoshang Shāh

He made arrangements with regard to his kingdom. The *vilāyet* of Mandu was prosperous and full of people; forts were built at different places and garrisons were placed therein. A man, named Mahmūd Mughal Khaljī came to Hoshang (Shāh) and entered his service. He advised Hoshang Shāh to confer ten places in *jagir* upon his (King's) ten sons, so that no stranger might interfere (with them afterwards) and they might acquire power during his (King's) life-time. Hoshang acted accordingly. This Mahmud was a treacherous man and had an ambition for kingship. First he separated his (the king's) sons from him and afterwards he became his *Wazir*. He gave his daughter to the King (Hoshang Shah) in marriage in order to gain prominence through this alliance with the King. Thus he first became the *Wazir* and then a relation of the King. He (continued) to cherish his schemes for twelve years without consulting anybody about them. He consulted only himself. He had constructed a place in his house to which he would retire daily after his return from the royal court and talk to himself about what he had done, and what he should do when it would thus happen. He, however, talked to himself in this way.

One day his father thought that whenever Mahmud returned from the *Daulat Khana* (royal palace) of the Padshah, he attended to nothing else, but retired to that room. He became curious to know as to what his son did there. When



he went into the room, his father also secretly followed, and listened to what he uttered. He heard him speaking of Kingship. His father appeared before him and struck him on the head with both his hands, saying: 'You are entertaining the designs of royalty. Do you want to ruin me along with all my family members?' He said (in reply to his father): 'O' man having no fear of God: You have ruined my twelve-years old schemes, and as though, have broken the cauldron, full of cooked food.'

His father went out from the place and told the King that his son had gone mad, having treacherous designs, and the king should be careful about him. In his house, Mahmud feigned sickness, hung up curtains at the door, and took to the bed. As the day dawned, the King sent his own slaves to see him. They (came), saw him and went back. He (Mahmud) thought that after the slaves, the physicians (would be sent by the King) to examine him and they would know the truth. He drew the curtain close to make the room dark and placed a pot near his bed. He had a lamb slaughtered and drank its blood. When the physicians came, he called them to him. Upon entering the dark room, they could not see anything (owing to darkness). It is customary for the physicians that when they come (to examine a patient), first they wait a little while and then feel the pulse of the patient. As it was very dark, they waited a little while till they could (adjust themselves and) see things. When they wanted to feel his pulse, he rose hastily and asked for the basin. When the basin was brought near him, he forced himself to vomit, and then asked for the lamp that it might be seen what he had poured out. He then drew back his head and rolled about as if in pain. When the lamp was lighted, the basin was placed before the physicians who found it full of blood. They did not feel his pulse and left him for the royal court. They told the King that his was a precarious condition; whether he was loyal or disloyal, he had been left with only a few moments (to survive), and that he would die in a short time. He sent his daughter the message that she should take a last look of him. When she came to him, he (Mahmud Khalji) said to her: 'Hoshang has got many sons. I accepted him to be my



son-in-law in order to obtain the throne for my own grandson (daughter's son). If you do one thing, (I may succeed).' She asked what she could do. He asked her to give a dangerous poison to Hoshang (in food) which he had in possession. She agreed (to do the work), went back (to her husband) Hoshang, and poisoned him.

On the same night when Sultan Hoshang passed away, (Mahmud Khalji) came and placing his grandson upon his knee he seated him on the throne. He kept his trusted men with arms near him and raised the canopy over his head. He issued order to the nobles and had the *khila'ts* (robes) prepared. He summoned the nobles to his presence one by one; the noble who recognised him (as Sultan), was given the *khila't* and dismissed by the other door.<sup>3</sup> But the noble who refused to recognise him, he was killed then and there. He concealed their bodies at a secret place reserved for this purpose. Thus he removed all his adversaries. Soon after, he killed the grandson also and himself became the King.



## Account of Sultān Mahmud Khaljī

He (Mahmud Khaljī) who had risen from *Wizārat* to *Pādshāhī* (kingship), appointed his eldest son, (later) Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud Din as his Wazīr, and addressed him as his senior brother (*birader-i buzurg*). He gained upper hand over his contemporary kings and had performed deeds of courage and wisdom.

One day Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud Din noted down in his petition that the revenue of *jāgīrs*, assigned to the soldiers had increased (considerably). One who (had been assigned) a *jāgīr*, worth two lac tankahs, its revenue had been more than doubled and even trebled; if permission was given they might be assigned *jāgīrs* afresh and with the surplus new men could be recruited. Thus, they (the new assignees) would be benefitted and the army would also be strengthened. The Sultān asked whether he had made this suggestion of his own or had been advised by some one else (to do it). Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud Din said: 'Your Majesty, it makes no difference whether I was advised by someone or made this suggestion (to you) of my own. It is based on sincerity.' The Sultān replied: 'Is it sincerity? I have entrusted the *wizarat* to you for the reason that I have myself risen from the *wizarat* to kingship. I have found out that a king has no enemy except a dominant *wazīr*. So it is better that the son should be appointed the *wazīr*. It does not matter whether he (the son) turns hostile or remains friendly (to the King) kingship will remain in his family in either case. I had thought that my house (dynasty) would



continue through you, but since such thoughts enter your mind I (now) visualise a dark future (for my dynasty). If somebody else has advised you in this way, he is the enemy of my dynasty; you should not trust him.' (The Prince) said: 'Your Majesty: I do not find any harm in this suggestion. The slave should be told as to what is the harm therein, so that I may receive a piece of advice.' (The Sultan replied) 'The man from whom the surplus will be taken away, he would be disheartened. He will not rely upon my words, and impute it to my low spirit. I am called the shadow of God, and as divine will does not change, my orders also should not be altered. I have to march against (the ruler) of Chittor two or three times every year and cover seventy *Krohs*' (distance) every day along with my soldiers. Everyone of them takes with him one or two horses (for the service). When they have (to join) the expedition again, none of them stays behind and get tired, he keeps his accoutrement ready. If he had not been assigned such a *jāgīr*, he would not have been able to keep pace with me. What can a king do without soldiers.' He warned his son, saying: 'You should never entertain such thoughts.'

At the time of Sultan Mahmud's march against the kingdom of Delhi, the King of Gujarat thought: 'the (power of the) Sultan of Delhi has been weakened while his rival (Mahmūd Khaljī) is quite powerful. After seizing the throne of Delhi, he would claim large areas. First, he will march towards Gujarat, therefore, I should take some step, and the step to be taken against him is that before he seizes the throne of Delhi, I should ride against the *vilayet* of Mandu, so that he (Mahmūd Khaljī) may turn back (from Delhi).' He did accordingly. Mahmūd got information (of his march against Malwa), he made peace (with Sultan Muhammad Shāh of Delhi) and turned back, as I have described it in the account of Sultan Bahlūl. This event took place during the reign of Sultan Muhammad who is called *Ojhari Khuvār*. (Ojhari is a Hindi word, meaning intestines of an animal. Perhaps, Sultan was fond of taking this dish).

Upon his return (from Delhi), Sultan Mahmūd (Khaljī) marched against Gujarat. The king of Gujarat was just dead



and his son, who had succeeded him was a minor. He was placed on the throne. Maḥmūd gained upper hand on his rival (army). The ministers (of Gujarat) realized that owing to the death (of their Sultān), they were not in a position to face the enemy successfully. They left whatever luggage, belongings and treasures they had in the tents, and having divided themselves into two armies, sat in ambush. Maḥmūd (Khaljī) heard that the army of Gujarat had fled away, leaving their tents and baggage behind. He decided to pursue them. As he reached their tents, his army men busied themselves in plundering and some of them had even taken off their weapons in order to load their horses with booty. In the meantime the armies (of Gujarat) came over there from both the sides, beating the kettle-drums. (The Malwa army) was not in a battle-array, therefore, they could not take a stand. Everyone fled away, even Sultān Maḥmūd took to flight. An elephant driver called him (the Sultān). The Sultān asked him whether he could do some thing. The elephant driver replied that if the King would stay near him, he could turn back the pursuing army. The Sultān said: 'You should do it, so that I may get some time.' The elephant driver turned the elephant towards (the enemies). Sultān Maḥmūd who had been joined by a few *sawars*, also stood there. The pursuing *sawars*, who were coming either singly or in pairs, (lost courage by seeing the elephant and Sultān Maḥmūd). They turned back to their army and told their officers that Sultān Maḥmūd had arrived at such a place. They (the officers of Gujarat) stopped their horses.

Sultān Maḥmūd took a stand near a *serai* which had uneven ground on both the sides. The kettle-drum beater was also calling the fugitives back to the Sultān. The latter ordered two persons to beat the drum in the manner of calling people (to the camp). When the fugitives heard the sound of the kettle-drum and saw the curtain, they turned up from different sides and joined the Sultān. The Gujaratis also caught sight of the curtain from distance, heard the sound of the kettle-drum and then knew that the camp of Maḥmūd was (pitched) there. They also stationed their army nearby; the river flowed between the rival armies.



The following day (the nobles of Gujarat) sent letters to Sultan Mahmūd to the effect: 'We have been faced with the tragedy, caused by the death of our Sultan; we have to arrange the affairs of the kingdom. Both of us are Muslims, therefore, let this river be the boundary-line between us.' Mahmūd turned back after making peace.

On his return to Māndū, Mahmūd used to say: 'I have run away from a boy; unless I lead an expedition against Gujarat, embarrassment cannot be removed from my heart.'

After a year, the Sultan led an expedition against Gujarat. But he passed away in the course of the campaign. The officers concealed the news of his death and told people of his falling ill. They placed (his dead body) in the seat on the elephant, kept his face uncovered and so arranged that his hand was tied with a rope which was held by a courtier, sitting near the body. Whenever somebody saluted the king, the man drew the rope and the hand of the Sultan was raised a little. Thereupon the *naqibs* (royal heralds) shouted that the Salutation made by the person had been accepted. His stomach was cleaned and the inner part (of the body) was messaged with such a lotion that it did not decompose. Only after reaching Māndū, they announced his death. Then Sultan Ghiyās-ud Din (be peace of God upon him) sat on the throne. Though his account has been given above, I had forgotten one thing, and about him, it is this.

One day (Sultan Ghiyās-ud Din) took his *Pir* (Preceptor) inside his harem where all his women came to salute (the *Pir*). The *Pir* said to the Sultan: 'Ghiyās-ud Din; You have collected so many women; can you do justice to all of them as they have a right to be satisfied. You are under obligation to meet their (sexual) needs. They were dismissed on that day at the Sultan's instance's, but on the next day, on being questioned, everyone of the women said: 'I was in the service of the Sultan tonight.' Further, a story is current that whenever any one of the women got pregnant, and desired to have a son born to her, he gave her to drink the water in which the thumb of his right foot had been washed; if she desired to have a daughter, she was given the water in which the thumb of his left foot had been washed. In this way everybody's desire was fulfilled.



## ‘Anecdotes relating to the history of Sultān Muzaffar, The King of Gujarat, Sultān Mahmūd Bahmanīd, and Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī’

In Gujarat, Sultān Muzaffar Shāh was the King, known for his religious disposition, sincerity and saintly qualities. It was his regular practice to write half a *sipara* (one of the thirty sections) of the *Qur’ān*. When it was completed, he held a banquet, to which were invited the ‘*ulama* and the grandees. He sent the copies of the *Qur’ān* to Mecca. Some of the copies from the pen of Sultān Muzaffar are still available in Mecca and Medina. He was very kind and humble. He never looked upwards at the women, standing on roofs; his elemency knew no bounds, nither he looked towards other things against the law of *sharia*’ (religious law).

During the days when infidelity had become triumphant in the fort of Mandu and Sultān Mahmūd (son of Sultān Naṣir Shah) had run away to Gujarat on the pretext of hunting, Sultān Muzaffar led an army to help him. Having killed twenty-two thousand infidels, he reinstated Sultān Mahmūd in Mandu. At the time when Sultān Muzaffar laid siege to the fort of Mandu, Medini (Rai) the accursed and Salahdi, the renegade, had gone to the Rana of Chittor and brought



him to their help. When Sultan Muzaffar got the report of the coming of this damned fellow, he left Malik Aiyaz Sultani with the main army on siege and having taken twenty-four thousand *sawars* with him, marched against him. No sooner had the Rana heard about his march than he ran away. Having acquired the control of the fort, Sultan Mahmud requested Sultan Muzaffar repeatedly to honour him by visiting the fort but he never accepted his request. At last Sultan Mahmud invited him to a feast (arranged in his honour) and then the Sultan yielded to his request. He went to the fort with a few of his nobles. 'Adil Khan Asiri (of Asir Gardh or Khandesh) who happened to be the son-in-law of Sultan Muzaffar whispered to him: 'Such (an important) fort should not be restored to Sultan Mahmud; and he may be compensated with some other place.' Thereupon the Sultan (being surprised) placed his finger between his teeth and expressed his disapproval of his suggestion in these words: 'I already have a (worldly) kingdom (i.e. Gujarat), and I give back this Kingdom (Malwa) for the sake of (my) religion. You should never entertain such an idea in your mind.'

At the time of departure, he (Sultan Muzaffar Shah) advised Sultan Mahmud not to leave the fort of Mandu (for any place at least) for two years and build up his army (during this period). (He also warned him about his son-in-law): 'You should not trust Adil Khan Asiri, who is your neighbour.' You should always remain watchful against his mischief and do not regard him considerate to you because he is my son-in-law.' He posted Malik Aiyaz with thirty thousand *sawars* below the ramparts of the fort (of Mandu) and also paid his (Malik Aiyaz's) soldiers their allowances and pay for two years in advance from his own treasury. The army men of Gujarat were ordered to serve (Sultan Mahmud) anywhere they were needed and not to go up the fort of Mandu for recreation.

#### **Anecdote about Sultan Mahmud Bahmanid**

A little (may be described) about Sultan Mahmud Bahmani, who was the King of the Deccan and known for his generosity



and bravery. He had sent Khwājā Jahān to Maulānā Abdul Rahmān Jami with the letter (inviting him to his court): 'If you set off (for India), the gold-embroidered carpets would be spread under the feet of your horse from Herat to the Deccan and they would be given over to the beggars (later on).'

This Khwājā Jahān maintained a huge kitchen for which four hundred lambs were slaughtered daily. At the time when the son (and the successor of Sultān Maḥmud) had the Khwājā Jahān arrested, his treasures were calculated (after confiscation); the unbored pearls were heaped in the courtyard of the palace, and the heap got so high that a man standing on one side could not see at the other side. Besides, I have heard from His Holiness, *Amir-ul Saadāt* Saiyid Abdul Awval that the books (belonging to his library) that were left after having been given to plunder, numbered seventy thousand. Versel by Ganj-Shabar : The name, custom and palaces all perish, God is immortal and great. *Dohra* (Hindi Couplet). Composed by Shaivh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakr (d. 1266). *Jat Ghar Zamin na pai Mabya Mukandhi tal, Chatu Pardes Pabnar hi Ou Maha'i jat.*

#### **Anecdote about the town of Jaunpur under Sultan Husain\* Sharqi**

Now I write whatever I know about Sultān Alauddin of Bengal and Sultān Ibrahim Sharqi.

I may describe some of the anecdotes for the pleasure and benefit of my friends.

During the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqi, a merchant's son was the friend of a student. One day the student was passing through a street in the city of Jaunpur and there he caught the sight of a beautiful (lady) in a corner on a roof; he took fancy to her at the very sight. When the face of the beautiful lady disappeared from before his eye, he felt restless and went to the merchant's son in a perturbed condition. The latter asked: 'Today you appear to be in a perturbed state.'

---

\*The text has 'Husain' but the story narrated belongs to the time of Sultān Ibrahim Sharqi.



He answered: 'In such (and such) locality I caught sight of a beautiful lady, and I cannot survive, if I do not look at her once more.' His friend consoled him, saying: 'Whatever means I have got, I shall utilise them for your sake. Have patience, I can have some solution (to your problem).' He was a bit consoled. The friend decided to find out some person with whose help the desire of his friend might be fulfilled.

One day, a woman, wearing blue dress, having a rosary in one hand and a staff in the other and keeping a long roll with the pictures of Mecca and Medina in her arm-pit, appeared at the gate. The merchant's son was sitting at the gate. He called her to him and told her about (the beautiful lady). She asked whether she was (found) on the earth or (seen) in the sky. He answered that she was on the earth and lived in the same city (Jaunpur). She said: 'Rest assured, for she is within my reach. If she had been in the sky, then it would have been impossible (to approach her). As she is on the earth and in this very city, it is easy (to get hold over her), but you should keep the gold coins (*Mohur-i zar*) ready (to give me) in reward. When I hand over her to you, I shall receive these (gold coins) from you. One of you should come with me and show me her house.' The student went along with her and showed her the house. The treacherous woman looked at the house from a distance and (stood there till) she found the owner of the house coming back; she observed him (and went back). On Friday the man (husband of the beautiful lady) went to the mosque (to join congregational prayer). The treacherous woman wearing a new dress, blue in colour, having the rosary in her hand and the prayer carpet on her shoulders, entered the mosque. She stood near the same man, constantly stared at his face and kept weeping till people left the mosque. She acted in the same manner on the following Friday also. One day the man stayed in the mosque and when all the people had gone away from the mosque, he asked her and insisted to know the reason as to why she looked at him constantly. She said: 'You do not care for me.' Then she struck her hand against her forehead and began to weep more bitterly than she did previously.



Astunded, he asked her in the name of God as to what she wanted. Again she repeated the sentence that he did not care for her. On being requested repeatedly to express her desire, she said: 'My husband was a merchant who bequeathed enough property. We had one son who was possessed with intelligence and was known for his large-hearted generosity. He bore resemblance to you.' Since the time of his death, I have been wandering in this dress (and condition). I have left my house and given over my wealth (to people). I go from place to place, (travelling on the land as well as sea) but I have not got contentment of heart anywhere. I have not come across anybody bearing resemblance to him (her son). But I find a little resemblance between you and my son, therefore, I busy myself with remembering him (by looking at you).' He said: "Consider me to be your son"]? As he was your son, I may be taken like him.' Being glad she shook her head and said: 'I cannot stay in the house of a stranger's son but it is enough that I may see you in the mosque once in a week.' He replied: 'Please consider my house as yours and see me daily.' She replied: 'I roam about and do not develop love for anybody because I cherish the love (and memory) of my son and burn myself with it. Now that I have developed a liking for you, I fear lest another fire of pang (of separation) afflicts me.'

On the following Friday he insisted on her coming to his house, and ultimately brought her there. But she did not enter the female part of his house, in spite of all efforts, made by him. The man had told his woman (inside the house) everything about her (the deceitful woman). When (the ladies of the house) heard of her arrival, they desired that she should get inside in some way or the other. A few days passed but she stayed inside the door. One day the man said to her: 'Your daughter-in-law is desirous of kissing your feet (a way to pay respect), if you step in, she will be blessed (by paying her respects).' She refused two or three times (to go inside) and then yielded (to his request) on the condition that no person would come and (disturb) her, and a corner (room) would be allotted to her where she would spread her prayer-carpet and busy herself (in offering prayers). He agreed to make



the arrangement and thus took her inside the house. The ladies touched her feet, cleaned a room and accommodated her there.

Once the man was away from the house, A cat appeared in the courtyard of the house, and someone (from amongst the ladies) threw a shoe on it. Thereupon the knavish woman cried out and fainted down. Closing her teeth and moving her eye-balls, she fell on the ground. When the ladies found her in that state, they rushed to her (one of them) placed her head on her knee and poured water into her mouth. After sometime she opened her eyes, looked around and rose up. They asked her the reason for her becoming unconscious. She said: 'I had a daughter. She insulted a saintly person by calling him a dog. The saintly person cursed her: 'If I am a dog, you would be a cat. She at once turned into a cat, and ran away from the house. From that day onward, whenever I see a cat, I become perturbed. Today, somebody caused an injury to the cat and thus reminded me of my daughter who may be meeting the same fate at some place.' All of them wondered over (her story) and started coming and sitting before her at intervals since that time. But she would not talk to any one of them.

One day the same lady to whom the student had taken fancy and who was the wife of the owner of the house came and fell on the feet of the knavish woman, saying: 'I want to have a son. You should pray (to God in this regard) so that I may be blessed with the birth of a son.' She replied: "There is a *Mashhadi*<sup>1</sup>, and whatever one desires from God on Friday night, one is blessed with it. I shall take you there and also bring you back after you have paid your respects. But there is one condition to be fulfilled by you, that is that you will accompany me all alone and keep your visit a secret from everybody.'

(Having settled the programme) she went to the son of the merchant and asked him (to arrange the payment of money) as she would bring the desired lady there at night.

1. Usually *Mashhadi* is used for a man who hails from Mashhad, a famous place in Iran. Imam Raza, one of the descendants of the Prophet lies buried there.



The son of the merchant got a place cleaned, the cot, bed, sleeping garments, betel-leaves, and wine (and other eatables) were all provided there. After it, both the friends sat there waiting for her arrival. The cheat (woman) took her (the beautiful lady) away from her house to these persons and handed her to them. She got the purse (of gold coins) and placed it under her armpit and went away.

The helpless lady who had never seen a stranger's face became nervous and could not utter any word. What she could not think of, happened to her. They consoled her that she should feel at ease till she (the knavish woman) returns to take her back to her residence. They brought wine but she refused to drink because she had never drunk it. They told her that it was a *sharbat* (light drink) and made her swallow it forcibly. She got intoxicated. They roasted *kabab* (meat) and fed her with their own hands. (They had) knives (to cut the kabab to pieces) in their hands. Once, the helpless lady, opening her mouth in the state of drunkenness drew herself towards kabab, but by chance fell on the knife. The knife pierced into her throat from one side to the other and she died. These evil-minded persons were disappointed and felt ashamed. They, however, placed her body with her gold-embroidered dress in a large earthen vessel and threw it into the river *Kudi* (Gomti).

Next morning the boys (came and entered the river) to play. One of them took a dip in the water and reached the vessel. He told (his fellow-boys) : 'There is something under the water. But it is not known as to what it is.' Others (also) dived, till it was discovered. Then all of them exerted and brought it out from the water. They found its mouth closed with grass. They did not open it out of fear. However, there was an uproar and the *kotwal* was informed. The *kotwal* having reached the spot, opened the mouth of the vessel and found (the body of a) beautiful woman in gold-embroidered garments. He closed its mouth, placed it on a cot and had it carried through his men to the court of the king and informed him about the nature of the case. Sultan Ibrahim (Sharqi) came out and inspected the vessel. He ordered the *kotwal* to trace out the culprit, threatening that he would be



killed along with his children, in case he failed (in performing his duty). The *kotwal* demanded four days' time for carrying out investigations.

The *kotwal* called all the vintners of the city (Jaunpur) and brought a few goats and cups of wine to (give) them and said: 'You should save me and my children from being killed.' They asked as to what he meant. Then he brought the earthen vessel before them and asked them to find out the man who had made it. They tasted wine and consulted one another. Suddenly, one of them said that the wine was *distilled by him*; and they informed the *kotwal*. The latter asked whether he knew the man who had bought it (from him). He replied that his wife who had taken it to the buyer's house should recognise him. She was brought before the *kotwal* and she took him to the house (of the culprit). He arrested the merchant's son and presented him before the Sultan. The Sultan ordered him to be executed, and he was then taken to the place of execution.

People flocked from different directions to witness the scene (of execution). The student (his friend) who had gone to the river to wash his clothes, heard there about his arrest and the royal order with regard to his execution. He rushed from that place and making his way through the crowd, appeared before the *kotwal*. He wanted to know from the *kotwal* as to whether the man who had committed the crime was being punished, according to the *Shara*, or a stranger was being punished? The *kotwal* asked (him) 'who has committed the crime?' Upon it he said: 'I have committed the crime (murder).' The merchant's son spoke out: 'He is telling a lie, because I have committed (the crime).' In this way, both of them refuted each other and each confessed that the crime was committed by him alone. (Being in a quandry) the *kotwal* took both of them to the royal court and informed the King about the matter in details. The Sultan ordered them to be presented before the court of the *sharia* (*qazis*). The judge expressed his opinion that according to the *sharia* only one person (the real culprit) has to be executed, not two (for the death of one person), and for that reason



both of them should be placed under confinement for a certain period and closely watched till the real culprit between them might be found out and only he should be killed. When they were placed under confinement, people watched them secretly day and night to know as to what they discussed between themselves. Everytime people found them speaking to each other, they heard them saying (one to the other): 'Why do you own the sin committed by me?' The other also asked him the same question: 'Why do you own my sin?' As the period of their confinement came to a close and nothing was discovered, they were brought out and presented before the King. The latter said to them: 'I forgive you and pardon your sin but you tell me the truth.' On being pardoned, they told the King the whole of the story. Thereupon, the King asked them to bring the woman to the royal court, so that she might be honoured with royal favour and entrusted with some official work. The young persons went away and brought the woman to the court. The King called her into the royal presence and said: 'A person like you resides in the city of the King but you have never visited me. Since people like you are much wanted as the King has enough work (to be done by you people). Are you alone? If there are other persons in your knowledge, you bring (and introduce) them also to me.' She accepted the royal offer, and was allowed to depart on that day with much reward. She began to contact people of her profession. Every day she brought one or two persons and introduced them to the King who fixed their salary and allowed them to go back with royal rewards. At last one thousand and three hundred cheats were traced out. One day the river *Kudi* was in flood; the King ordered his *sarapardā* to be pitched across the river and a feast to be arranged there. All of them were invited to the royal banquet (on the opposite bank). A few boats were occupied by all of them, and when the boats reached the place where the river was very deep, the boatmen drowned the boats, as they had been ordered. Thus, the (sources of) mischief were removed from the city (Jaunpur).



## CHAPTER XVII

# Miscellaneous anecdotes, containing information about the state-system and social life in India during the 15th and 16th Centuries

During the times of Khizr Khān, the King of Delhi, there lived a Carpenter. People came to him from different *parganas*, and he settled their disputes. He had become famous in this regard. One day his son said to him: 'You decide matters as if you have got divine knowledge. What do you know about divine affair? If you give up this practice, I shall live with you, otherwise I shall leave the house.' The father replied: 'God has gifted me with this ability that I can distinguish between a righteous person and a liar. I decide cases on the basis of this ability.' The son said: 'It is only God who knows about the hidden secrets.' The father said: 'This is a divine gift to me, I do not say (I have it) of my own.' '(The son said as) 'You will not give up this ill-practice, I cannot stay in your house.' Having said this much, the son left his father's place.

Having travelled for two days, he stayed (with somebody) in a village. The villager had two wives. He loved one of his wives and neglected the other. The second one also had an infant son. One day, the husband was away from the house; his beloved wife also went somewhere in the village for some work. The (neglected) woman cut her son's throat with a knife and placed the knife stained with blood under the



pillow of her rival (woman). Thereafter, she also went away in some direction. At the time when the second woman (loved by her husband) returned home, she also came back. As she came to her son, she started weeping and making noise so much so that her neighbours came and gathered around her. The mother (of the child) accused her rival of killing the child. She took out the knife from below her pillow and threw it in the presence of the people, saying; 'Look at the knife found under her pillow.' She pleaded not guilty, denying the charge. People said that the mother could not cut the throat of her own child. At last, they decided to take both of them to the carpenter and know the truth through him. They left for his place.

The son of the carpenter who stayed in the village, had witnessed the entire tragedy himself. He also accompanied the crowd (for his father's place). In every village through which they passed, one or two persons joined the party till they came to the carpenter. On being called, the carpenter came to them and took his seat in the midst of the crowd. The slaughtered child was shown and the whole story was narrated to him. He called both the women in his presence, questioned them and bowed down his head. After sometime, he raised his head and said: 'There is no witness to this murder. But the one who takes her clothes off sooner in the crowd, speaks the truth.' The mother of the child at once took her clothes off and became naked before the crowd. The second woman felt shy of people and could not take her clothes off. Thereupon the carpenter announced his judgement against the mother of the child. 'You have', said he, "killed your own son out of hatred for the woman (second wife). You have not felt ashamed of taking off your clothes in the presence of two thousand people. Hence, it seems that you have murdered your own son, too, on account of the extreme hatred that you have against this (innocent) woman.' It struck the son of the carpenter who had been sitting in a corner, watching the proceedings, that he had seen the whole incident, and if his father had asked from him he would have said the same thing (as the father had decided). As he found his father doing justice to the innocent woman, he got up and fell on the feet of his father.



**Anecdote about a Soldier and his wife, who belonged to Samānā<sup>1</sup>.**

During the reign of Sultān Bahlūl, a soldier lived in the *khitta* of Samānā. He started on a journey for some place. At the time of his departure, he said to one of his next door neighbours: 'Being a neighbour, you take care of my family, and do shopping for my wife whenever she would need anything.' After his departure, the neighbour came occasionally to his house and asked his wife whether she needed any help. He found a stranger at the door of the house. When the neighbour saw him, the stranger moved away. The neighbour thought that if this other man is one of their relatives, what was the need for the soldier asking me to take care.' Why did he not ask this other man to do the shopping? If, on the other hand, he is a stranger, why does he go there? The neighbour returned to his home. He made a hole in the wall which stood between his house and that of the soldier. He saw through the hole that the stranger entered the house and thought that there was something wrong with the wife of the soldier.

At night he found (seeing through the same hole) the stranger making love to the soldier's wife. In the meantime the child who was lying on another cot awoke and began to cry. The woman got up and lulled the child to sleep and returned to her lover. As the child continued to disturb her over and over again, she got infuriated and killed her child by cutting his throat. As the child was silenced for ever, the lover casually inquired as to why the child did not cry any longer. She told him that she had put him to eternal sleep. The man got up and saw that the child's neck had been cut. The man got terrified and condemning her, said: 'What an awful thing you have done? I cannot trust you as you have cut the throat of your own son.' The woman said: 'I have sacrificed my son for your sake, but you have begun to distrust me. I have lost my son too. Whatever was to happen, has already happened. But you should not disclose it to any

1. Samana is a town in the district of Patiala in the Punjabi subah.



body. Also, please bury the dead child in the house. Since I know that you do not love me any more, and will never come back to me, therefore, go after burying the child as it is difficult for me to do it (alone).' (Then) she went inside the room and brought a shovel to the man. He dug a grave, placed the shovel outside and having entered (the grave) asked the women to bring the dead body of the child. She brought the body and handed it over to the man. When he bowed down his head in order to place the body of the child in the grave, she picked up the shovel with both her hands, and struck it against his head with such a force that his brain came out and he died instantaneously. Then she buried him along with his child in the same grave. She shovelled down the earth and levelled the ground. The neighbourer observed everything. He was deeply shocked but thought that if he immediately disclosed the incident, that woman might put him to harm; he decided to keep it a secret till the return of her husband. He would then inform him. Next morning, the woman raised an outcry and started saying, 'A wolf has taken away my child.'

Upon the return of the husband to his house, his relations and friends came to express their condolence. The neighbour also came and stayed there till all the other guests left. When he was alone with the soldier, he said to the soldier: 'I shall tell you about the death of your son as I have seen it myself.' He warned him about the consequence if he would fail in taking care of himself. The soldier said that his son was killed by a wolf. Then he told him that his son was not killed by the wolf but killed by his own mother. He also took him inside his house and pointed out the grave to him through the hole in the wall. The husband came to his house and looked at the ground (grave). His wife asked what was he looking at? He said that he had buried something in the ground and forgot the actual site, and if she would give him the shovel, he might trace it. She told him that the shovel was in the room wherefrom he should bring it. As he got inside the room, she bolted the room from outside and then set the house on fire. Again, she raised an outcry (meanwhile) the man was burnt to death.



The neighbour went to the 'āmil of Samana to report the case to him. He brought the soldiers (footmen) to the house. First the body of the soldier was examined and then the grave was opened. The bodies of the lover and the child were taken out. The sinful woman was arrested and killed.

**Anecdote about an imposter who cheated the travellers in Lahore during the reign of Islām Shāh**

During the reign of Islam there was a man in Lahore who resided in the mosque, attached to the caravan-serai, and had his house in a village on the bank of Ravi in the vicinity of the city (Lahore). Everytime when he found a traveller coming to the mosque, who was young, prosperous and possessing enough (goods), he at once came to see him. When the young traveller asked him whether he had his house nearby. He replied: 'No ! (It is not there). Rather, it was a little distance away. But I have come for an important work and live here for this reason.' If he asked what the nature of his work was, he said: 'I have grown old and have a daughter who is educated and very beautiful and attractive. She has gained puberty, therefore, I am in search of a suitable match for her. For this purpose, I come to the mosque, so that I may marry her to some fortunate person, she may settle down in life and I may free myself from her responsibility.' Everyone who agreed to marry her, he persuaded him to take his companions to his house with their tents and property for participating in the religious ceremony. Thereafter, he served poisoned food to the guests and thus killed them.

One day, he took a young man to his place in this way. [At the time] one of his footmen, who had gone somewhere in connection with some work and, as he was away, he escaped being killed. On his return the footman did not find his companions at the place. He inquired from somebody: 'Where have the persons who had halted there, gone ?' He told him that they had left. The footman rushed to join him but could not find them up to the next halting place. He turned back under the impression that they might have shifted



to the *serai*. As he came there, he found some strangers taking the horses (belonging to his murdered companions) to the river. He asked them as to whom the horses belonged. They told him that they belonged to such and such man, who was a stranger. The footman was convinced that his companions had certainly been waylaid. He went to the *darogha* and reported the matter to him. The men of *darogha* came (to the cheat). They discovered all the murdered people in a well inside the house. He had killed sixty persons in this manner.

#### **Anecdote about another cheat of Lahore during the reign of Islām Shāh**

There was a man of Lahore who lived inside the fortification of Lahore, below the tower, during the reign of Islām Shāh. He was well-known for inscribing talismans (*ta'widh*), and distributing them to women, on the condition that every woman would come to him alone and not disclose any thing (about the talisman) to anybody. Those who were not well-off, to them he gave the *ta'widh*, but those who seemed to be well-off, and came alone, he killed them and took away their ornaments and jewelry. There was a Hindu woman whose husband had another wife, and who desired that her husband should love her and keep away from the other wife. She consulted everybody about the way she should resort to in order to win over her husband's love. One day, one of her neighbours told her about the man who lived near the tower and did not accept any gift from persons and gave talisman to the women. That he refused to give talisman if the women went to him in pair. Everyone should approach him alone. As she came to know of him, she left her house in the evening and reached his place with the help of people who told her direction to his place. According to his practice, he killed her. The wells inside his house had been filled with dead bodies and were, therefore, closed with earth. He covered her body in the blanket, and placed it on the head of the slave and asked him to throw it away outside the city; another man was also sent along with him. They carried it late at night.



When they entered the gate the night-guards who were on their rounds called them to halt. 'What are you carrying' ? They asked: They halted and said, "We are carrying grains". They asked: Wherefrom have you brought this grain ? They replied: 'We have brought it from the debtor.' As the chief of the guards was not there, they asked them to stay till his arrival. Both of them sat down but fear was visible on their faces. The guards being alert kept watch on them but did not search their load. In the morning the chief arrived and checked the blanket. As the dead body was brought out, both the persons got nervous and told him the truth. The *darogha* (chief) rode to the house of the culprit. The woman murdered by him was Khatri by caste. Her relatives who were much worried owing to her disappearance, came to the place and identified her. On being questioned, the culprit told the *darogha* that he carried on that profession from the beginning of his career, and the four wells full of the bones and skeletons of his victims were discovered in the house. Everybody was astonished.

**Anecdote about a beautiful woman who belonged to the party of robbers during the reign of Sikandar Lodi**

Husain Khān Sarwani, son of Sulaimān Sanpathi told me that once he was passing by the *vilayet* of Lucknow during the reign of Sultān Sikandar (Lodi). As I reached a certain place, I found a young woman in attractive garments who having covered her face, was weeping. I asked her: 'Who are you ? Why do you weep here ?' She said: 'I came out from the house of my husband after I had quarreled with him. The day has dawned but neither I can find the way to my husband's place nor I remember the route leading to my father's village. I am weeping out of helplessness. If somebody may help me, the house of my father is in the village which is situated along the road.' Husain Khān said: 'If you can walk, you should get up and follow me.' She said: I have already covered enough distance and I am completely tired. I cannot walk.' Then he seated her on his horse, behind his back. After a while, she offered a betal leaf to the Khān to chew.



Though he accepted it, yet he did not like to chew it as it could contain any harmful thing. He kept it under his armpit. No sooner had he kept it under his arm-pit than he lost his senses. Thereupon, the lady held the bridle of the horse in her own hands and rode it to the place where her companions waited for her. When she arrived there, the robbers brought Husain Khān down, removed his sword and quiver from (him), and when they untied his belt, the betel leaf fell down from his arm-pit, on the ground. As a result, he regained consciousness and found himself in a strange condition. He at once jumped up, caught hold of the sword, hanging in the saddle. The robbers were terrified and then ran away. He rode his horse and having tied the woman with the tail of the horse, dragged her.

She was a beautiful woman, therefore, he did not kill her. He rather kept her in his *harem*. Until the day when he narrated this story to me, she was living in his *harem*.

#### **Anecdote about an old woman who belonged to a gang of highway men**

A young man, Sikandar by name, was travelling by the town of Chandausi<sup>1</sup> during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi. As he had walked in the scorching sun, he stood (to rest) under the shadow of a tree along the road. An old woman was also standing there. She said to the young man that there were some blades of grass on his turban and if he allowed her, she would remove them. He replied that he had no objection and then bowed down his head. The old woman placed something on his head and as a result of it he lost his senses; the woman moved on and the youth (being charmed) rode his horse after her. As they reached the forest, the companions of the old woman (a few in number) and (hiding themselves there) rushed towards them. In the meantime, the turban touched the branch of a tree and as it fell on the ground, the (magic) curtain was removed from before his eyes (and he

1. Chandausi is a *tehsil* town in the district of Moradabad (U.P.) on the Aligarh-Bareilly Railway branch line.



recovered his senses). He saw a few young boys.<sup>2</sup> They came with drawn swords towards him. He at once became alert and held up his bow and arrow. They lost courage and fled away. He arrested the woman, took her to the town and having left her in the custody of the *darogha* (of the town), started on his journey.

### **Anecdote about a dragon found in Bengal during the reign of Sher Shah Sur**

During the reign of Sher Shāh a dragon appeared in a certain *pargana* on the border of the *vilayet* of Bengal. It was a huge dragon and caused much ruin to the *pargana*. Neither he spared animals nor human beings. At times people gathered to kill it, but in vain. They, however, informed the *darogha* of Gaur (the provincial capital). The *darogha* rode to the *pargana* where he collected a large number of people, including matchlockmen and quiver-bearers, and proceeded with them to the forest for killing the dragon. They reached there at the time of its coming out from its hide-out. The dragon saw them and rushed towards them. They were standing having a channel of water between them and the dragon. As it arrived nearer, they used matchlocks and other arms but it could not be stopped. At last a few balls of guns hit it on its head and made it blind, with the result that it became helpless. They overcame it and killed it. They skinned it and a few hundred shields were made (of its skin for use of the warriors). A few hundred shields were made of its skin. They were so hard that even the gun-bullets could not affect them. It was skinned only upto its neck while the remaining part was left there. This story of the dragon is very famous among the Afghans of the *vilayet* of Bengal. Some of them were eye-witness to the encounter with it, while others heard about it. I have very often heard the story from them.

During the reign of Sultān Mahmūd Khalji (I), the King of Mandu, a man named Mahmud who was also a Khālji,

2. The term '*Londan*' has been used for the young men, engaged in robbing the travellers. This is a Hindi word, meaning young rustics.



was given to debauchery and licentiousness. He earned notoriety and the *sirrafs* and cloth-merchants were so much afraid of him that he wrote to them directly to pay money, even in thousands, to the men mentioned by him; nobody could have the courage to turn down his note. Sultān Maḥmūd urged the *kotwal* and the people of the city over and over again to capture him in any possible way, but no effort was crowned with success. When he entered the city, he could do whatever he wanted to do in the day light. As the *kotwal* got information of his entry in the city, his men (Kotwal's) came out from different streets (to arrest him) but he (the criminal) fought against (the policemen), and when it was necessary he jumped from the ground upon the roof, no matter howsoever high it might be, and then leapt from one roof to the other till he disappeared from the eyes of (the *Kotwal's* men). Nobody knew where he had his residence. He was (like a) bird that flew in the air.

Once he entered the house of a beggar for whose wife he had developed an infatuation. He was intoxicated at that time. The spies came to know of his being there, and soon informed the *Kotwals* who rushed to the place along with his force and encircled the house. He (the criminal) also came to know of it (the arrival of the *Kotwal*), and jumped up to reach over the *chhapper* (thatched roof) but one of his legs got entangled in the *chapper*; the *Kotwal* had also entered the house quickly, therefore, he struck his sword against the same leg and cut it off. He jumped up but fell on the ground. As one of his legs was chopped off, he could not jump as he did with both the legs. He was, ultimately, arrested.

Sultān Maḥmūd had ordered that after he had been arrested, he should be presented before him, alive. He was taken to the court accordingly. The Sultān asked him as to how could he jump in the air (so high). He said: I had a desire in the beginning of my youth to lead a life of rakishness. One day I met a *jogi* (recluse) and requested him: teach me such a thing that I may enter any place according to my desire, but nobody should (be able to) arrest me.' One day he took me to the jungle. Seeing a hole there, he said to me: 'Your desire will be fulfilled.' He asked me to bring



a few earthen cups that I brought. He placed them around the hole and enchanted magic words. As a result (of magical recitation) the snakes came out from the hole. Soon afterward, smoke started coming out from the hole and then it turned into fire. In the end, a small snake, red in colour came out. The *jogi* pricked it with a green cane which was burnt. He threw the burnt cane and picked up the snake in a leaf. Thereafter, he asked me to bring another green leaf to him. When I gave him the green leaf, he folded it and rolled the snake in it. As the poison of the snake was pasted on the leaf, he asked me to eat it up. Since I had seen the whole process with my own eyes I could not do it due to the fear of death. When I refused, he himself ate it and disappeared from before my eyes. He went in the air. The leaf that was thrown by the *jogi* on the ground, I licked it and gained the strength to fly in the air in consequence.'

#### **Anecdote of the reign of Qādir Shāh known also as Mallu Khān**

This story I have heard from Miān Khwājgi, who was celebrated for integrity and wisdom. He was such a soldier, that he was well-known in the countries of Mandu, Gujarat and Daccan for his brevery. He always spoke the truth. He did not like the company of the Hindus. He addressed men like Bhopal Rai and Ragho Rai (the generals of Sher Shāh) as *sag* (dog). As Miān Khwājgi was in the service of Sikandar Khān Miān a (of Malwa) he was made a prisoner along with his master by Sher Shāh. Miān Khwājgi was entrusted to the custody of Rā'i Gobind. The Rā'i came to him in order to cheer him up and said to him: 'Be manly, His Majesty will release and confer upon you favours.' He did not say anything except calling him a dog in reply. At the time of offering prayer, he demanded water for ablution. Rā'i Gobind's man brought water to him but he refused to accept it as it was brought from the house of a non-Muslim. On Rā'i Gobind asking him as to what sort of water he would like to use, Miān Khwājgi told him that water should be supplied to him by a Muslim *saqqa* (water-bearer) and it should be brought in (another) new vessel. His desire was fulfilled.



He remained in his house for four days but did not eat anything; whenever any one asked him about taking food, he said, "O'dog, I will not eat anything from your house." It was also his practice that neither he engaged a Hindu barber, nor a Hindu washer-man or any other Hindu for any (menial work). He never consulted a Hindu physician (*Tabib*). At last, Rā'i Gobind said to Sher Shāh: 'the soldier whom your Majesty have entrusted to my custody, does not eat anything cooked in my house. Moreover, he does not address me except as a "dog". Sher Shāh called him to his presence and bestowed two horses upon him, employed him and then attached him to Gadai Khān Sur. I shall write about some of the stories that I have heard from him.

He told me that (once) a few persons went out for hunting for hawks (*basha*). They entered a forest in course of hunting. At a certain place they found innumerable scorpions coming out of a hole. As the scorpions were there in a large number and coming out and going back in the hole, they closed the hole with a stone, and when they came back there after they had hunted, they found a particle of stone in the hole. They sat down there and after some time saw a big scorpion with a small scorpion, of the size of half a gram, on its back. The small scorpion came down and struck its sting against the stone. The stone cracked and was soon reduced to ashes. Thereupon, the scorpions entered the hole. The hunters killed one of the scorpions. Again the small scorpion came with a small piece of the size of a grain on its sting. The scorpion put its sting near the mouth of the dead scorpion, and as a result of the smell of that piece of stone, the dead scorpion got up and moved on. As they observed this action of the scorpion, they seized the particle by killing the small scorpion. They pulled out a feather from the slaughtered quail and placed the particle upon it. After it they went to the bank of the river to wash their hands. There they placed the feather (containing the particle) on a slaughtered quail and busied themselves in washing their hands. All of a sudden the slaughtered quail flew and went away across the river; the particle fell into the river.



Another (story) I heard from Mian Khwājgi was that one day a hare was caught by him (and his fellow hunters) in course of hunting. He had a silver ring in his finger when he slaughtered the hare. (By chance) the blood of the slaughtered hare reached the ring which turned into gold after it had been cleaned. *Malik-ul Fuzala*<sup>1</sup> was consulted about the reason for the ring of silver being turned into gold. The *Malik-ul Fuzala* said that the hare might have taken a certain grass of which some effect remained in its throat when it had been caught. It was slaughtered in that condition and the effect of that grass had turned the silver into gold.

#### **Another Anecdote told by Khwājgi**

One day *Malik Sharf-ul Mulk*<sup>2</sup> was going on a journey. In the morning he left the halting place and went to make ablution. The servant brought a branch of a tree, broke its stick into two parts and gave one of it to *Malik Sharf-ul Mulk*. The servant had white beard which became black when he cleaned his teeth with the stick after he had turned it into tooth-brush (*miswak*) by chewing. About this (too) *Malik-ul Fuzala* was asked. This event took place during the reign of Sultān Sikandar (Lodi).

Further, there was a Hīndū who lived in the *parganā* of Atrauli<sup>3</sup> and dyed his white moustache. As he prepared the dye (to use), he was called by the *diwān* (i.e. the officer-in-charge of the *parganā*). He (got up) to go away. The groom who was his employee said to him (the Hindu official) that if he allowed him, he would use it as he also had a white moustache. (Being permitted) he dyed his moustache, and his moustache became black for ever. It was the effect of his good star.

1. *Malik-ul Fuzala* whom, according to Mushtaqi in the preceding Chapter on Malwa, Sikandar Lodi had taken in his service after the death of Nasir Shāh of Malwa.
2. *Sharf-ul Mulk* also belonged to the Malwa court but later on he entered Sikandar Lodi's service after the death of Nāsir Shāh of Malwa.
3. Atrauli is a town, *pargana* head-quarter in the district of Aligarh (U.P.).



**(Stories about magicians)**

A story that also I heard from Mian Khwājgi: A magician staged a magic show before the *amir* of Herāt. Though he made all efforts to perform feats yet he could not succeed. He realized that somebody was neutralizing the effect of his magic; he cast his glance in all directions till he found that a man had come upon the minaret and had neutralized the effect of his magic. The magician demanded a water-melon from the *amir* which was at once supplied to him. Then the magician took up a knife, enchanted magic words upon it and struck it against the water-melon in such a way that it was cut into two parts. The moment the water-melon was cut into two parts, the head of the man who was sitting on the minaret was chopped off and fell on the ground. As the *amir* witnessed this scene, he realized that if his enemy had deputed him (to Herāt against him), he would do harm to him, therefore, he ordered him to be arrested and killed. The magician said: 'I am a Muslim; if you want to kill me, you should supply water to me so that I may clean myself. I have to take bath.' He was supplied water. The *amir* had warned his servants to keep strict watch upon him and not to be away from him. He stood in the basin that was brought for collecting his blood, and poured water upon his head. As the basin was full of water, he sat down, took a dip and disappeared from everybody's eye.

Another: It is a well-known story that a magician had come to Jodhpūr during an earlier period. He staged a show in the presence of the Rāi of Jodhpūr. He declared: 'Whatever may be ordered, I shall do it.' 'If allowed, I shall create an orchard with grown-up trees which will blossom and bearing fruits in a day and everybody would eat them.' The Rāi said that it was fine if he could create such an orchard. He selected a site for the garden; it was ploughed and levelled. Then a curtain was hung around the field and the Rāi sat outside the curtain. The magician went inside the curtain and inquired from the Rāi from inside at every time as to what a tree he should plant? The Rāi told him to plant the fruit tree that he liked till the orchard was full of trees. At



that time the curtain was lowered down and everybody saw a beautiful garden with trees, bearing ripe fruits. The Rā'i thought that the garden was created by magic and the magician would ruin it whenever he would like so. The Rā'i decided to kill him. (The magician was killed and) the garden still flourishes in Jodhpur. In that (desert) area there are no trees and garden, except this one. Many people know about it and they have seen it.

I have heard that the son of the magician was [with his mother] in the house. As he grew up and came to know about his father's murder in Jodhpur, he went there to take revenge against his father's murderers. He announced in Jodhpur that if the Rā'i permitted him, he would make him eat out-of season melons. He would till the field and turn it full of the creepers, bearing melons in a day and everybody would taste them. The Rā'i ordered the ground to be levelled so that he might grow melon plants (creepers) by magic. A curtain was raised, and melons were produced (as previously). When the melons were produced (by magic), the magician asked the Rā'i and his courtiers to take their seats. He placed a melon before everyone of them and asked them to cut the melon with a dagger at the time when he would ask them. All of them tried to cut the melons simultaneously but (instead) their heads were severed off. Then the magician disappeared.

Another anecdote: I have seen it with my own eyes. A Brahman came to Shaikh Ghuran (during the reign of Humāyun Bādshāh). The Shaikh had returned from the camp of the King and said: 'Today the King held consultation. He has decided that the army would march towards Gujarat tomorrow. He recited *fatiha* (prayer) and left (the assembly).' The Brahman said: 'Tomorrow the army will not march towards Gujarat and, instead, it will march towards Agra.' All this happened in the fort of Gwalior. The Shaikh said: 'If the expedition to Gujarat is postponed and the army marches (back) to Agra, I shall give you ten thousand *tankahs* in reward.' The Brahman asked his men to bring sheets of clothes from his house as the Shaikh would



give him the promised reward and he would take the money in the sheets.

Early in the morning the agents of the Shaikh came from the royal camp with the news that the fore-tent and the royal kitchen had already been moved (towards Gujarat). The Brahman said: 'It does not matter as the King himself will ride and then turn back after the first mile towards Agra.' After a few minutes the drums began to be beaten for the march and the King came out riding. He had covered a little distance when he ordered the army to turn back to Agra. The Shaikh gave over to the Brahmans what he had promised.

Another: Mirān Saiyid Tajuddīn, the grandson of Mir Saiyid Mah Bahrāichi<sup>1</sup> who had come to Shaikh Ghuran, asked that Brahman as to when he would be granted leave (by Shaikh Ghuran) to go back. He replied: 'Tomorrow he will allow you to return, and he will be having a green *sadaphal* (sitaphal) in his hand which he would hand over to you. He will also present to you a white horse along with a green dress.' The following day every thing happened as he had foretold. The affairs are known (to a man) in this way through the genii. The genii has been given power (by God) to know about the past as well as about the future. Likewise, the genii can cover the distance of one year's journey in a moment's time. They pass above the mountains just as the smoke rises above the *chappar*. They do what cannot be done by a thousand hands. When a man acquires this ability, he can also perform such deeds.

### (The Story about a Milkman)

I have heard from Khwājā Khān Mewāti about that had happened during the early years of Sulṭān Bahlul's reign. This event had happened during the time of the advent of the Afghans in India. Once the Afghans had raided the village,

1. Saiyid Mir Māh Bahrāichi was a famous saint of Bahraich who flourished during the reign of Sulṭān Firuz Shāh. His tomb is still venerated by the local people. Shaikh Abdul Haqqe of Delhi has devoted much space in his celebrated work, *Akhbar-ul Akhiyar* to his life and scholarly attainments.



(attached to the *pargana*) of Nim Khar,<sup>1</sup> (in the territory of) Qanauj. Some of the residents were killed while others were carried away as prisoners. One day Khwājā Khān was travelling to some place during the rainy season. As it started raining, the Khwājā took shelter under the shade of a tree. There was also a Milkman standing there with his wife who raised her sheet with both the hands over his head. The husband said to her: 'The water of rain will do no harm to me. Why do you drench your sheet?' The wife answered: 'Though the rain water may not do any harm, yet I cannot see the drops of water falling upon you.' He said: 'Praise be to God, there was the time when you were so hard upon me. Today, you cannot tolerate the drops of rain water falling upon me (lest they should harm me).' His wife said: 'You have grown old but you have not forgotten that story.' He said that he would never forget it till his last-breath.

Having heard their conversation, Khwājā Khān became curious and inquired from the shepherd as to what was the story. The Milkman said to the Khān that the story was not such that it could be narrated to him within a short time. He suggested that he should stay with him at night. The Khān was so curious to hear his story that he agreed to stay in his house at that night. Thereupon the wife (of the shepherd) said to the Khān: 'He (her husband) is a mad man but you seem to be madder still. You should go and resume your journey. What have you got to do with this affair.' Again her husband said: 'The story is certainly worthy of being listened to. You should stay with me tonight. I shall serve you with whatever we have (of food) and then you may start on your journey in the morning.' Finally, he took the Khān to his house, tied his horse at another place and then left with his permission to graze his animals.

In the evening he returned home, entertained the guest with meal and also brought his own cot near (the bed of the Khān). When a little of night had passed, he began to narrate his story: 'At the time when the army of Sultān

1. During the Lodi period Nim Khar was a *pargana* headquarter attached to the *Sarkar* of Qanauj; Abdul Fazl also mentions it in the *A'in*.



Bahlūl invaded the territory of Qanauj, the village attached to the *pargana* of Nim Khar was completely plundered. People were taken prisoners while I was away grazing the animals. Later on, I got the information about the fate of the people and the village. There was the house of a *baqqāl* (grocer) in my neighbourhood. This woman (his wife) was the daughter of the same grocer and I had developed intense love for her. It was all platonic love. Since she was also taken away as a prisoner, I felt as if I had become mad, I renounced my house and roamed as recluse in her search.' Here the wife of the shepherd shouted from inside the house to the guest: 'O man, the stupid fellow is narrating nonsense but what has happened to you?' Again her husband forbade her, saying, 'Go away, who has asked you (to come).'

However, I came out from the house (village) and went from house to house in every village and town looking for her. At last I reached the city of Sirhind where also I wandered in her search. By chance, I reached the house owned by an Afghan and when I cast the glance inside the house, I found the Afghan sitting along with the same woman (the daughter of the grocer) who was cleaning the rice. I raised my voice in the fashion of a *jogi* (beggar). The woman recognised my voice, looked at me and again busied herself in her work. The Afghan asked her to go and give something as alms to the beggar. She got up with handful rice and came to me. As she came nearer, I told her: 'As I have found you here, where should I go now? Either I shall take you with me or I shall die here.' She gave over alms to me and went back without speaking anything to me. I kept standing, completely charmed by her sight. Meanwhile, somebody said that the *jogi* was still standing there. Thereupon the woman said: He is not a *jogi* but a scoundrel. He has come here to kidnap me.' The Afghan who heard her from above the roof, 'asked his men to beat me as much as they could. (They did accordingly) taking me as dead, they threw me outside the house. I remained unconscious in the street for four days; people who passed by the street took pity upon me and gave me shelter.



After sometime, when I could move, I entered the stable of the (same) Afghan and continued to lie down there till I recovered health to work. I began to look after the horses and fed them fodder and grain. As a result of my taking care of the horses, the grooms were impressed and did not remove me from there. Since I looked after the horses throughout the night, everybody praised me before the Afghan. The latter fixed my pay and entrusted the stable of the mares to my charge. The mares were kept inside the female part of his residence. For this reason I had to enter the female apartment to take the mares to the pasture land (in the morning) and bring them back to their place (in the evening). At every time I looked at the woman and found out some excuse to stay inside (the female quarter) for sometime. One day I found an occasion to be near that woman, and I whispered to her: 'Do not be mistaken; so long as I am alive, I shall not desert you, either I shall take you back with me or I shall perish.' Again she told the owner of the house (the Afghan) about me: 'He is a deceitful person and stays here to kidnap me.' The Afghan who had been impressed by my service to him, said in my favour: 'So long as you do not wish to run away, nobody will be able to kidnap you.' His remark encouraged me and I began to take greater interest in the discharge of my duties; I remained watchful and took rounds of his residence at night. (Being pleased) he gave me *Jāmā* (uniform) along with weapons. He transferred the charge of the stable of the mares from me to some other person, posted me at his gate and entrusted the post of his *mir-i-akhūr* to me instead. All the things wanted by him were purchased through me. I, however, became his confidant and lived comfortably.

After two years Sultān Bahlūl again marched towards the east, and the Afghan was also called to join the expedition. When he went to join the expedition, he called the same wife (the daughter of the grocer), writing to me that the lady should be mounted on such and such horse while I should ride such and such horse for accompanying her and the footmen would carry the luggage loaded on the bulls. I did accordingly.'



In the course of journey I repeated the same word to her until we arrived near the army camp. As we were travelling in a quite large number, we decided to stay at a certain place for passing the night and join the royal army which was encamped on a distance of three or four *krohs* from that place in the morning. At dawn all the persons started (towards the royal camp). I also packed the tents and loaded them on the bulls and made the footmen to take them ahead. After it I mounted the woman on her horse and I also rode away along with her. I took to the road that I liked. When the footmen reached the army camp along with the bulls (loaded with tents), the Afghan asked them about us. They told him that we were coming behind them. He waited for sometime and then asked the footmen a second time: 'What is the distance between the place where you stayed at night and this place?' They told him that it might be three *krohs*. He said: 'Then why is there so much delay?' You and he started at the same time.' They said: 'He made us start before him and he was putting saddles on the horses. Thereupon the Afghan said: 'He must have taken her away.' He rode the horse and galloped it.'

'About two hours of the day had passed when he overtook us. (Before it) I was thinking that if he (the Afghan) would come (to overtake) I shall do this and that. When I heard his challenging roar, I got nervous. Having come to me, he whipped me several times, brought me down from the horse and tied me with rope. He also came down from his horse, tied it (the horse) under the shadow of a tree. He also strapped me to a branch of a tree.' After it, the woman said to the Afghan: I told you repeatedly (about the man), but you never agreed with me.' He answered: 'It is all right. You may now see what I do with this man.' As it was very hot, the Afghan took out some crystal sugar from the bag and prepared *sharbat* (drink) in a cup. He drank a little of the *sharbat*, took off his turban, placed his head on the knees of the woman and lied down. The woman began to comb his hairs with her fingers and then he fell asleep.

'Since I had been hung by the branch of a tree and was looking upwards, all of a sudden I saw a black cobra



creeping down from the tree. I prayed to God that it should bite me and thus free me from the torture that I was undergoing. Soon after the cobra came down to a lower branch and my desire (that I may be bitten to death) increased all the more. Ultimately by God's will the cobra crawled upon my feet which were tied to the branch of tree. It reached the ground crawling over my head. It drank a little of the *sharbat* left in the cup, poured down its venom in it (and went away), nobody knew of it. I saw this happening. Then the snake went away, again crawling over my head, as it had done on the downward path.'

'After a while the Afghan got up, drank the remaining *sharbat* in the cup, and again went to sleep. When he woke up, he said to the woman: 'I have developed temperature, and got extreme heat in my eyes.' The woman said to him: 'You have developed temperature because you have galloped the horse in the sun.' He drank all the *sharbat* that was left in the (big) cup. After sometime the Afghan said: 'I am finding everything dark and my chest and throat are burning as if with fire. I do not find myself in a safe condition.' After he had uttered these words, he drew his sword, rose up and turned towards me. He struck his sword against me and soon fell down to die. The sword could not cause any injury to me. It rather cut the rope with which I was tied to the branch of the tree. As all this happened, the woman said to me: 'Whatever is given, it is given by God. Get up and ride on. It is not advisable to delay our departure any longer.' We got up and rode away. Verses

If one is destined to live, neither the Cobra nor the Sword  
Kills one.

When the days are numbered, both the medicine and  
poison are of no use for the men.

**(The anecdote narrated by Miān Khwājgi)**

The story was narrated by Miān Khwājgi who had heard it from a merchant. He said that he was sailing in a ship when all of a sudden the sea became stormy and the ship could not be saved from wreck. 'I fell down in the water.



I moved my hands in the water and the waves helped me reach an island. The people of the island rushed to me, brought me inside the fort and looked after me. In a few days I became intimate with them. I visited all the places there and enjoyed my time. There were a few thousand houses and in each one people manufactured armours and shields. Every citizen was engaged in this work. I had curiosity to inquire for whom they manufactured these items. Oneday I went to a house and inquired from the resident there: 'I find all of you engaged in manufacturing goods of iron but I have never seen any customer anywhere. What does it all mean'? He said: 'We do this work throughout the year. Every year the merchants come in a ship. We barter these items for whatever we need.' I requested him to recommended me to those merchants on their arrival, so that I could go back to my land.' He said: 'It is all right.' As the time of their arrival came, people climbed the ramparts of the fort daily and looked in the direction of their coming. One day the ships were seen coming. I also climbed the rampart and saw them coming. Then I came down. People received the merchants and took them to their houses and accommodated them there.

They continued to sell and purchase goods for a few days and then decided to leave the Island. The stranger (the merchant who had taken shelter there) reminded the resident of the island of his promise to recommend him to the merchants. Thereupon, he told one of his acquaintances the story of the man that his ship was wrecked by the storm and he was brought by the waves to their island. He also requested him to take him to the land from where he could go to his country. One of the merchants agreed to take him with him. But his companion objected that a stranger should not be allowed to accompany them. Then the man said to the refugee: 'We shall help you on the condition that you would keep quiet. You would not ask any thing. You would only watch whatever we do in course of our voyage.' He accepted their condition. At last, the ships were put on sails and all of them started on their voyage. They rowed the ships for two days but on the third day the merchants began to



throw the goods in the water. 'I wondered why did they do all this. I felt constrained to inquire the reason for all that they did. I asked: 'You came to the Island after having undergone travails in course of your voyage and purchased these goods. Why do you waste your goods when no calamity has befallen the ships? The man who was not willing to take me with them, said to his companion: 'I asked you not to take the stranger with us for he was not expected to keep his promise, yet you did not accept my advise'. His companion replied: 'Rest assured, he would now keep quiet'. The following day also, they began to throw their goods in the water. Again I failed to keep quiet. I turned to the man who had always been kind to me and said to him: 'I can not feel at home here unless I know the reason for your destroying your goods in this manner'. He said: Rest assured, I shall tell you the day we shall see you off.'

We sailed in the ships for two or three days until the entire load was thrown away in the water. Then the man told me that I could part company with them. He also told me at that time that they belonged to the class of angels and were assigned by God the duty to provide the people of the Island with the means of livelihood. We have no need of their products. Having told me the reason, he asked me to shut my eyes. As soon as I shut my eyes I found my feet on the ground. I opened my eyes and found myself on a dry ground.<sup>1</sup>

Another story was narrated by Khwājgi to the effect: Once the ship was carried away by the stormy wind at an unknown place. People passed several days in helplessness and the water stored was left in small quantity. By chance we reached an Island and decided to take shelter there. The local people came out to see us. All of them had tails like that of a horse. The news was communicated to the king who also came there accompanied by two guards. He, too had a tail, studded with diamonds. The guards asked the foreign visitors

1. This is a fantastic story having no historical information. Such stories were invented to pass time as well as to strengthen man's faith in God as sustainer.



the reason for their arrival there, because people seldom reached there. There were brokers who maintained files containing information about different dialects, spoken in different parts of the world. They could talk to the merchants in their dialect and then interpreted for them. They told the king that the visitors stood in need of drinking water and would offer money for it. The king ordered them to be supplied with water. A few of them took the visitors to the wood and asked them to have water. As there was no water, they said where they would get water. They told them that the leaves of the trees were their only source of water. If, by chance the water is found underground, it was too brackish to be used. They also told them that it rained only in the wood when the leaves began to dry.<sup>1</sup>

**(Anecdote told by Mian Walid)**

The story that I was told by Miān Walid who had heard it from a merchant. Miān Walid was a warrior in the service of Lād Khān Sarang Khan (the *Muqta* of Jaunpur). I have never come across such a pious man among the army men. He treated the friends and strangers alike in doing favour to them. He was always inwardly busy with offering prayer to God. He had no attachment with worldly things, although he had plenty of them in his stores. He always put on military uniform made of fine fabric. Like it, his sleeping suit was also made of fine cloth.

Though he was fond of living like an aristocrat, I never found him taking rest on a cot. This humble one (i.e. the author) had a long association with him. Being a religious man, he daily offered prayers till midnight. He got up one hour before the dawn, took his bath and sat facing the *qibla* (the direction of *Ka'ba*) for meditation. He was so friendly towards other servants of Lād Khān that many of them passed their day-time at his residence. He entertained them in numerous ways. He took out perfume five times every day and distributed it among all those who were present with him. He was never found without a guest in his house. He incurred

1. This is also an absurd story like the preceding one.



such a huge expenditure daily that he could be taken as an alchemist (one who could turn iron into gold through alchemy). He was serious about his religious pursuits that he deserved to be called a man of God.

He himself prepared such perfumes that their smell spread all around. He bought one maund or two maunds of aloe-wood every month and extracted perfume from it. Besides he had all types of perfumes in his store. Whenever the merchants came with rare commodities and nice perfumes, he was informed, and he bought whatever he liked before all. Afterwards, he gave over these things to the merchants for sale and realized their price after they had been disposed off. He told them the price of every item and collected it from them after its sale. If the agents adulterated the perfumes and made extra money, he would not bother about. He realized its price that had been already fixed. He also bought the ore of glass, handed it over to the skilled workers whom he retained in his service and had different articles made by them. These articles were sold (in the baazar) and much profit was earned. He met his daily huge expenditure by earning money in this way. He had different things in large quantity in his stores. How much (of these) should I write ?

In his early life he was in habit of drinking wine but he kept it a secret from everybody. He used to drink at the time of midday nap. He got up at the time of after-noon prayer. One day a barber, named Marban came from Rohtak and Mī'ān Walīd called him over. Marban, the barber, asked him whether he could trim his beard. On being allowed, and getting close to Mī'ān Walīd, Marban felt the smell of wine (in his breath). He asked the Mī'ān whether he had drunk wine. The Mī'ān answered that he drank casually. The flagon full of wine was placed under the cot, and the Mī'ān said to Marban that he could also take wine from it to drink if he so liked. The barber also drank wine and left Mī'ān Walīd for Jalāl Khān.<sup>1</sup> The latter also asked him to

1. Jalāl Khān Lodi, known as Jighat was the *Mūqtā'* of the *sarkār* of Kēlpī during the reign of Ibrahim Lodi but Jalāl Khān mentioned in the above passage seems to have been some other high officer in the service of Lād Khān.



trim his beard. As Marban stood near him, Jalāl Khān felt the smell of wine, and asked him whether he had drunk wine. Marban told him that Mī'ān Walīd had given him the wine to drink. Again Jalāl Khān asked Marban: "Does Mī'ān Walīd also take wine?" Marban said: "Yes". There was a man who (heard him and then) went straight away to Mī'ān Walīd to report this conversation to him. Mī'ān Walīd felt ashamed and, therefore, he decided to give up drink after the wine in the flagon was consumed. Soon afterwards he thought that he should give up at once, lest he should persist in his habit even after the wine in the flagon was finished. As this thought came to his mind, he picked up the flagon threw it on the stone, and gave up wine for ever. He remarked: 'As I kept my drinking wine a secret, So I shall not make my renouncing it known to people.' He went to Shaikh Budhan Shattārī and became his disciple. Since then he lived as pious man devoted to religion. He built a cell underground and passed most of his time inside it, offering his prayers. If he was in the army camp and had to stay outside (Jaunpur), there also he prepared a cell (for offering prayers therein).

Once, I accompanied him on an expedition. The Mī'ān was the Commanding Officer. He sat on wooden chair and spent the whole night in vigil, wearing a thin shirt, although it was winter. His shirt had become cold like ice. He sat in meditation in this condition through out the night. Before it was dawn, he took off the shirt and took bath with cold water. After it, he again sat in meditation.

Once Mī'ān Wālīd fell ill, and I was staying in the fort of Rapri at that time. Upon my return from Rapri, I went to call upon him. He was lying in a dark place closed with a curtain. I sat down for a while until I could be able to see things. Afterwards, I reached his bed and asked him as to how he felt. He said that he was thankful to God in all conditions. Again I asked: 'How do you pass the night?' He answered: 'If the nights had not been there, I would have passed away.' I asked: 'What do you mean?' He said: 'People come to see me and embarrass me (by asking questions about my health). I spend my time peacefully at night.'



Thereupon, I burst into tears and I said: 'God be praised. It is generally held by people that the night is difficult for the patients to pass, and this is true, also. I consoled him.' He said: 'Everyone who pays visit to me, says that the cause of my illness is this or that. Otherwise I have patience in day and night alike. Where have you been for so many days? I have been deprived of the company of a true friend (during your absence). You should not leave me now.' In these days of his illness, the physicians of Lād Khān had lost the hope of his survival and left up attending him. In the afternoon he inquired as to why the physicians had not turned up that day. Those who were present told him that they had not come to see him, because they had to do some work, elsewhere. He asked: 'Did everyone of them had some work?' They answered: 'Yes, all of them had some work to do.' He said to himself: 'They have considered me as an incurable case and have not turned up for this reason.' Miān Rājan Siddiquī who was his friend, began to weep. He asked him: 'Why do you weep?' The day (of my passing away) is still far off. I shall not die today. I shall survive for two years more. The Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him) came, accompanied by Saiyīd Budhān, the *Kansādār* (man in charge of drinks) and told me (in dream): 'I have come to you because the physicians have declared you as an incurable patient and they are wrong. You have been granted two years' life. Have patience as I am going. I shall come to you again at the time of afternoon prayer.' Having heard him, his friends became happy. Again the Prophet appeared (in dream) after the afternoon prayer. Next day he got up, sat on the cot and asked (his men) to serve him with food. He began to recover rapidly from that day and was quite well within a short time. Within the period of two years Sultān Ibrāhīm (Lodi) had to fight the battle (of Panipat) and he attained to the status of a martyre at that time. He was a beloved of God.

The story that I had heard from him is as follows: At the time when 'I (Mi'ān Wālid) was in attendance on Lād Khān in the *vilayet* of Bhattā, the army was encamped and fellow-men went around on the hills in search of game. (Mi'ān



Walid) also went in a certain direction and reached a site on a height which appeared like a cell, dug in the rock. He decided to inspect it and went up. By chance, he saw the ground quite wet below the rock. He became curious to know the cause of moisture there. He cleaned that spot to know as to whether there was any source of water. In course of cleaning the site, he felt a drop of water falling from the roof on his hand. As he turned his eye upward, he saw that the drops of water were falling from the upper part of the slab. Other friends also joined Miān Wālid there. As long as there were two persons to witness the scene, only two drops of water came down; and then the number of the drops increased in proportion to the number of people (who joined Miān Wālid), untill a stream began to flow. As it became known to the camp, all the army men reached there and thereupon the stream turned into a river. On their return the water began to diminish and in the end only one single drop continued to come down, as it had done previously. I had heard this story from him.

One day I narrated this story to Ḥaẓrat Jalāl-ud Din Shīrāzī who said that it was as a result of some magic (of the past). I asked whether it was found somewhere else also. He said that there are still remnants of the action of the magicians at numerous places in this country. One of such is the town of Ghauspur<sup>1</sup> near (the city of Ghazipur). It (Ghauspur) was founded by Alexander the Great. The houses (appear to) have been built upon one another (in the town). In a certain direction one house stands upon the seven (houses) in other direction on six and elsewhere five houses (are found) standing upon one another. (When it starts raining) it never rains inside the fort since the town was founded. The outer side of the walls are drenched by the

1. Ghauspur is included in the district of Ghazipur in U.P. The town seems to have been founded on a number of mounds, created by soil erosion. For this reason the roof of a house is found just below the courtyard of another house, and the animals can move from the door of a house to the roof of another owing to ups and downs.



rain water but its inner side always remains dry. This is the effect of magic.

**(Another Story)**

The story was narrated by Shāikh Taha Chanderiwal, the nephew of Mian Ahmad Danishmand. He told me: I went out for shooting the birds along with a few friends. I sat down in a corner with my bow and arrows while the companions had gone away for driving away the deer. I felt as if the serpent was blowing off behind the mound. I looked down the mound and found a spider moving on the serpent, lying on the ground in a helpless condition. As I reached near it, I saw it striking its head against the ground in pain. After sometime, serpent became motionless. Again I sat down waiting for the deer none of which turned there. I decided to get up and see the condition of the serpent. I moved the serpent with the arrow but it was dead. The arrow had pierced its skin. I was horrified and turned back and again sat to wait for the deer. After a short while, the deer were driven in my direction and then I shot down one of them. I rushed to slaughter it. When I held its horn; its head separated from its body and was in my hand. In the meanwhile my companion also arrived there and were surprised to mark the incident. I told them how I had touched the arrow with the dead body of the serpent along with the story of spider. All of them agreed that it was the effect of poison.

Besides, I heard from Miran Saiyid Budhan (the Shattari Sufi Saint) that he had moved towards the foothills in the north for refuge when the Mughals (under Babur) occupied India. "We stayed", he said, inside the forest. "One day we came out for sight-seeing. We came across a big spider moving in the forest. Whenever it reached the dry grass, it caught fire under its feet. One of our companions was a physician in the service of Shāikh Khālil. He pointed the Spider to me and asked: Do you know what is the cause of this smoke and fire you see here. I replied: I see the fire but I do not know its cause. Then he showed me the Spider and



told me that the fire was kindled by the touch of the Spider's feet. I asked: 'What will happen to the man if he is touched by this Spider ?' The physician told me about the other grass that served as its antidote and also showed it to me. He set the grass to fire and burnt it to ashes. The following morning he again took me to the site which I found full of bush grass though it had been reduced to ashes the previous day.

### **The Story Narrated by Qazi Mu'in U'ddin:**

Qazi Mu'in U'ddin was a pious man who had become celebrated for spending most of his time either in meditation or offering prayer. He hailed from the Deccan. He had taken his abode in the tomb of malik Qabal in the complex of Khwaja Qutb U'ddin (Kaki in Delhi). I benefitted much from his company. As for his routine, he first offered the mid-night prayer and then sat in meditation, placing his head on his legs. He remained in this posture till the dawn. Others would find it difficult to sit in this manner even for half an hour. His spiritual powers and qualities defy description. One of the incidents, related to him can be described. One day, the brothers, Miān Shāikh Jamal and Miān Ibrahim said to me:

'Yu frequently go to visit Qazi Mu'in U'ddin. Today, we shall also accompany you.' I said: It is all right. We started together. Shāikh Jamal said to me on the way that he had a wish, and if the Shāikh fulfilled it then he would regard him a worthy person. I said: Men of God should not be tried in this way. They should be approached for having their good wishes. He replied: I have taken a decision because you speak very highly of his spiritual excellence, we also feel attracted towards him. We must now know a bit of his attainments. I asked him what he had in his mind. He said: When we reach him, first, he should give us bread to eat and then would serve rice with boiled milk mixed with sugar and clarified butter.' I said: 'You may do what you like. I never go to him to see him making display of his abilities like a juggler. I aspire for something quite different. He has nothing to do with these things (showing tricks).' At last we visited him.

It was morning and we found him at his place. He brought bread for us. I sat with my head bowing down. The



brothers ate the bread. When the bread was taken, a person brought a large bowl full of rice cooked in milk. His holiness asked him to place it before the guests. He himself brought the wooden cups and then entertained the guests. Both of them were amazed to witness all that. In the meantime he also gave them sugar and clarified butter, and asked them to take them if they desired. When they had finished the food, the Shāikh said to them: "Baba: 'You are the sons of pious people. You should not test the *faqir* (one who renounces the world) in this way. If I had not been able to entertain you, you would have laughed at the brother (i.e. *Mughtaqui*). They regreted and promised not to do it again.

Another day, the writer went to pay visit to the tomb of Khwaja Qutbuddin (Kaki), taking a few tankas (silver coins) with the intention of giving them away to the poor there. When I reached there, I found Qazi Mu'in U'ddin, moving out. I shook hands with him and asked where he was off to. He told me that he was going to visit the graves of Shaikh Hasan and Shah Muhammad (?). I also joined his company and offered prayer with him at the graves. When we sat down there, he told me that he was the guest of Khwaja (Qutb U'ddin Kaki) and he was allowed to get hold of the entire offering at the shrine on that day. I presented my *tankas* to him.

The writer had the privilege of having had a few years association with him. During this period, whatever he told me or predicted came true. I never found him asleep or taking rest. I always found him either in meditation or offering prayer. He told me about his early career that when he served as an army man, he was fond of doing service to the dervishes. One day he was in attendance on Malik Barid of the Deccan that a person came with three bottles, tied with a wooden staff. He placed it before the Malik. The latter asked: "Why have you tied these bottles with the staff and what is contained there in?" He said: "There is deadly poison. If somebody touches it, he dies instantaneously. Therefore, these bottles have been tied with the staff," Then he spoke about the effectiveness of that poison. That if it was thrown in a small quantity in the lake or pond, it would



kill animals brought there to water. I said, no body would die of its effect because it is God who sustains everybody or causes him to die. People smiled and said that poison was also created by God and people died of its effect. I said: 'I have heard much about it, now let me try it.' I took the poison and put some of it in my mouth. I did not have any effect on me so long as I stayed there. When I came back home, I asked my mother to give me food to eat. She had thirty-five seers of meat for the kitchen. She had quickly prepared stewed dish. I took full meal and went to sleep. I was confined to bed for eight months and remained unconscious throughout my illness. I opened my eyes after three months but could not see anything. I had lost my eyesight. After eight months I recovered my eye sight. I recovered after one year and then renounced the world.

(Further he told me), once I was present at the shrine of Hazrat Qutb-ul Sadat Miran Saiyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz on the occasion of 'Urs (death anniversary). At night I found a group of dervishes, sitting in a corner. They took their meal and demanded water to drink. I got up to bring water from the *ābdarkhana* (the room where drinking water was stored) but found no water there. I picked up an empty pitcher and went to the river that flowed nearby. Though I was able to carry the full pitcher of water I got courage out of love for the dervishes. I put it on my shoulder and brought it to the dervishes. One of them who marked the sign of exhaustion on my face, struck his hand on his chest, cried in grief and fell down unconscious. When he recovered after some time, he said to me that my exhaustion caused severe grief to him and then he asked me how did I do. Thereafter the Qazi remarked that the dervish should be given credit for their sensitiveness to the misery other people suffer from. verse : The sons of Adam are like the organs of body, God has created them out of the same substance.

The story that I heard from Mī'ān Bābū Sarwānī (son of 'Umar Khān Sarwānī) who was a wise man and sincerely devoted to religion (is as follows): He narrated that one day he was sitting along with a few persons at a certain place. As one of his companions got up to leave for home, a scorpion came



out from the hole nearby. The scorpion remained sitting near the hole so long as people called him: 'Come back, come back.' Since he did not turn back, the scorpion went back inside the hole. Again they called him by name loudly and again the scorpion came out. They remarked: 'It is a strange thing; everytime when we call your name the scorpion comes out and when you do not turn back, it returns to its hole.' They beseeched him to come back and soon the scorpion came out. The man, however, came over there, sat near the hole with a branch of tree in his hand and touched the scorpion with it, but the latter remained motionless. Once the branch got broken and the hand of the man fell on the scorpion. The scorpion at once struck its sting against his hand and entered its hole. The young man cried and passed away. Bābū Khān Sarwānī was an eye-witness to this event.

Miān Bābū Sarwānī was a religious and sincere man. Having renounced his military profession, he founded a village near the town of Pilakhna<sup>1</sup> during the time of Shaikh Ghūran (i.e. under Bābur), called it Islampur and settled down there on the bank of the river Kali. One day the *Shiqqdar* of the town of Jalali summoned him because one of his men had quarreled with some persons. The men of *Shiqqdar* came to the Mī'ān (Bābū Sarwānī) and asked him to see their officer. He tried his best to turn them back but they insisted on carrying out the order of the *Shiqqdar*. At last, the Mī'ān rose-up, made ablution and offered two *rakats* of prayer. Then he prostrated and passed away. I (the author) witnessed this event myself. Verse :

When the lovely ones disappear,  
The true lovers suffer and passaway.

#### (Another Anecdote)

One day, Miran Saiyid Hamza Rasuldar went to take a walk near the *Hauz-i Khass* (Delhi), situated outside the fortification of Siri (the capital of Sultān Ala U'ddin Khalji). He

1. Pilakhnā is a small town in the district of 'Aligarh. The *Jāmi'* mosque of Pilakhnā, build by Shaikh Ghūran during the reign of Babur as recorded in its inscription is still intact.



came to a mound with a very old grave on its top. The grave was broken on a side. He looked inside the grave and sighted a number of gold coins (*Muhar-i zar*) mixed with dust. The Miran thought that if he would find some poor man, he would ask him to pick them up. He went on inspecting people on the way. By chance, he saw an old and indigent man who had brought wood from the forest and sat down under the shade of a tree to take rest. Tee Miran thought that he would not find any man more deserving than that old one. He went to him and asked: 'If God helps you with money, would you accept it? He replied: I shall accept it if it is lawful.' The Miran said: 'It is very difficult to find out that whatever we get is always lawful'. The old man said: 'Perhaps you have in your mind the money you may have seen in the grave'. The Miran said: Yes! 'Then the old man told him that he knew about it for seven years and he stayed there for rest daily but he never desired to pick it up because he regarded it unlawful.

**(The Anecdote narrated by Malik Adil Qanaui)**

I heard from Malik Adil Qanaui that once vast area was submerged in water, owing to the flood of the Ganges. Many old graves near the bank were threatened or washed away. Some of the Bukhari Saiyids (of Qanaui) decided to collect the bones and skeltons from the graves and bury them elsewhere. They reached the graves in boats and collected the bones from the graves damaged by the flood. They found in a grave a body wrapped in white cloth as if the body was laid to rest there that very day. There were also the jasmine flowers blooming near his feet, while the fresh flowers were also found on his body. They were surprised to see the miracle and moved ahead. They came to another grave where the scorpions were found all around the body of the dead man. Having seen it, they learnt a lesson and turned back.

**Story told by Adhu Kansi**

Another : the story that was narrated by Malik Adhū Kānsī ; the resident of the town of Shikārpūr (Punjab) to



me and he had referred to his brother as its source (is as follows) : (His brother told him) 'I started along with some merchants for the hilly country during the reign of Sultan Sikandar (Lodī). We came down to a village near the town of Mahavan, and bought the tail of a peacock from a person there with the intention that if somebody would like to buy it at any place, we shall receive its price from him. This tail of peacock feathers was in my bundle. When we reached the forest belonging to the *vilayet* of the Qazalbāsh (Iran), the highwaymen fell on the caravan and plundered it. We assembled at a Place (for our defence). On the departure of the raiders, we took shelter in the *serāi* and collected there whatever was left by the highwaymen. The tail of peacock feathers was also found in the remaining goods, and one of my servants picked it up and packed it with my goods. When they left that place, I had no strength to accompany the merchants any longer. I left their company and moved on along with my own men (in another direction). I wanted to retire to such a place which was not frequented by many persons. We, however, reached the frontier of the country (Iran), and stayed at the gate of a *sera'i* there. (By chance) one of the peacock feathers had fallen down from my goods. A child came from inside a house, picked up the feather and went back. After sometime the owner of the house came along with the feather in his hand and asked me whether it belonged to me. I told him that I had a few of them. He said to me : 'Would you oblige me by giving a few of them to me ?' I asked the servant to give over a few feathers to him. The servant gave him four feathers. He was so much pleased and obliged that it is beyond description<sup>1</sup>.

Next morning as we prepared to depart, he came with a letter that was handed over to me directing that it should be delivered to one of his servants who lived and took care of his horses two miles away. We took the letter and departed.

1. The peacock feathers are still used as a pointer in reading the Quran.



On reaching the stage, we handed over the letter to the addressee. The latter having read it inquired from us : "What article have you given to the *Khawājā* (master)". We said in reply : 'Nothing'. Then he told us. 'He has ordered a swift-moving steed to be given to you (in exchange of) whatever you have given him.' He (the brother of *Mālik Adhū Kānsī*) said : 'We gave him the feather that he had requested us to give him.' He asked what type of feather it was, and also desired to see it. When he was shown it, he fell on my feet and requested : 'If you give a few feathers to me, I shall also offer a horse to you in return for them. We gave him also (a few feathers) and got two horses. As we came to know of their value (there), sold the other feathers also and acquired three (more) horses. At the time of our return journey, we had enough money, purchased other horses and then left for our own *vilayet*. Verses :

Seeing the peacock feather on the leaf of the Quran, I inquired from it whether it had that value before. It replied: Keep quite. One who has beauty, is welcome every where.

#### Another Anecdote:

There was a food caterer (*tabakh*) in Qanauj. He had a grave made for himself (in the fashion of elite). He also planted flower plants and the pomagranates all around the grave on a terrace. The Terrace became quite famous for beauty in the town. One of the Saiyids of Bukhara used to sit there and remarked that the *tabakh* (caterer) was not worthy of being burried there after his death. One day the Saiyid died and his body was taken to his family graveyard. He was buried there. After sometime, the caterer also died and his body was taken to the terrace he had got built for his burial. When the grave reserved for him was opened, the body of the Bukhari Saiyid was found lying buried there. Since many people knew that the Saiyid was fond of that site in his life-time as narrated above, they closed the grave and then burried the caterer near his grave.



**(Another Anecdote)**

I have heard from Mian Hilal Ghorī, the *Hafiz* that once *Masnad-i Ali Khawwas Khan* stayed in Ludhiana during the times of Sher Shah Sur. He was informed that two boxes were found buried in the flooded area. *Khawwas Khan* ordered the boxes to be opened. There was in each box a human body. One body was wrapped in a white sheet of cloth while the colour of the others's sheet had faded. The boxes were closed immediately. *Khawwas Khan* inquired from the local people whether they had seen the tombs there before. They replied that neither they ever saw any tomb nor heard of them from their elders. They also told him that water always flowed there. At night one of the local men saw in dream two men addressing him that they were *huffaz* (people who commit the Quran to memory) and did not like the boxes containing their bodies to be removed elsewhere. Thereupon the man asked them the reason why the *Kafan* (sheet) of one was white and that of the other had faded. He was told that both the brothers recited the Quran daily. One of them never recited the Quran before making ablution. The other was not so particular of making ablution, therefore, the colour of his sheet had faded. When *Khawwas Khan* was told this dream, he had the boxes buried there.







## INDEX

- A**bban, Saiyid, 2, 12, (f.n. 11)
- Abbas Sarwani, 3 (f.n.2 ), xx (Introduction)
- Abdullah Ajodhani, Mian, 19, 20, xxi (Introduction)
- Abdullah Ansari, Khwaja, 157
- Abdul Awwal, Saiyid, 241
- Abdul Ghani Jaunpuri, Shaikh, 64
- Abdul Ha'i, Shaikh, 149
- Abdul Jalil, Shaikh, 69
- Abu La'la, Shaikh, 30, 31
- Abdul Aziz, Shaikh, 218-19
- Abdul Qadir Jilani, Shaikh, 73, 78
- Abdul Samad, Shaikh, 64
- Abdul Wahab Bukhari Shaikh, 47, 64, 68-69
- Adam Kakar, Malik, 46-47
- Adhu Kansi, Malik, 282
- Adil Khan (the eldest son of Sher Shah Sur), 159, 165-67 xxiii (Introduction)
- Adil Khan Asiri, 240
- Adil Qanauji, Malik, 281
- Agha Muhammad Turk, VII, VIII (Introduction)
- Agra, 33, 35, 37, 47, 64, 69, 75, 79, 133, 135-36, 151-52, 159, 174-75, 180, 185, 203
- Ahmad, Khwaja (of Chanderi), 182-84
- Ahmad, Shaikh, 57
- Ahmad Farmuli, Shaikh, 88
- Ahmad Khan Lodi Sarang Khani, Khan Azam, 93, 96, 129
- Ahmad Khan, son of Khan Jahan Lodi, 72, 75, 118, 193
- Ahmad Khan, Jilwani, Sultan, 181 192
- Ahmad Khan Lodi Yusuf Khail, 110 (f.n. 84)
- Ahmad Khan Sur, 142, 162, rebels and assumes the title of Sikandar Shah, 207-09
- Ajmer, 136
- Ajodhan, 55
- Akashdevi, 222
- Akbar, the Mughal Emperor, 47 (f.n. 46), ascends the throne 127-28, fights against Hemu, 209-10
- Ala Uddin Khalji, the Sultan of Delhi, VII (Introduction)
- Alauddin, the Sultan of the Saiyid dynasty, 3
- Alauddin Husain Shah, the Sultan of Bengal, 133, 241
- Alawal Khan (of Mewat), 189
- Ali Khan Lodi, 56
- Ali, Mirza, 115
- Allah Din Jilwani, Malik, 57
- Allahdad Qanauji, Malik, 101
- Ambala, 22, 186
- Amil, 18
- Amin Shah (Dilawar Khan Ghor), 231-32
- Amrit Kund, XX (f.n. 1)
- Ankasari (elephant), 101
- Anwari, the Poet, 192
- Arval, 32
- Awadh, 99, 102, 116, 135, 186, 209
- Ayaz, Malik (of Gujarat), 240
- Azam Humayun Lodi, 110 (f.n. 86)
- Azam Humayun Sarwani, 47-48, 91-92, 108, 112, 130, 168, 185.
- B**abarwal, 166
- Babur, the Mughal invader,, 111 (f.n. 88), defeats Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, 113, occupies Agra, 114-20, death, 121, 199



Babu Sarwani, Mian, 280  
*Badrah* (purse of money), 94  
 Badr U'ddin Bhilam, Malik, 65  
 Badr U'ddin, Mian, 86  
 Badaon 3, VIII (Introduction)  
 Bahadur Shah, Sultan, XXI (Introduction), 199  
 Bahadur Khan Karrani, 104  
 Bahar Khan Niazi, 201  
 Bahar Khan Nuhani, 111-13, 132  
 Bahar Khan Sarwani, 206-07  
 Bahlul Lodi, the Sultan, 1-2, receives the titles of Fath Khan and Khan Khanan in quick succession, 3, invited to occupy the throne in Delhi, 4-6, fights the battle of Narila, 7-10, defends Delhi against Sultan Husain Sharqi, 11-13, orders the destruction of Tatar Khan Yusuf Khail, 20, death, 30, 102, 129, 198, 221, 264  
 Bahlul, Shaikh, 123, 126, 135  
 Bahraich, VIII (Introduction)  
 Bahram Lodi, 1 (f.n. 1), XIV (Introduction)  
 Bairam Khan Khanan, 207, 209  
 Bandagi Shaikh Durwesh, 102  
 Bansbala, 203  
 Baqi, Shaikh, 116  
 Baran, 129  
 Barbak Shah, 25, 31  
 Barmazid Sur, 201  
 Bayana, 25, 136, 138, 162  
 Bayazid Farmuli, Mian, 112-16, 193-94  
*Bazar-i Chahar Su* (Agra), 35  
 Bengal, 97, 105-06, 123, 125, 134, 150  
 Bhandar, 53, 115, 155  
 Bhar Kunda, 135  
 Bhatta (modern Rewa), 47, 91, 96, 158  
 Bhikkhan Khan Lodi, 36, 179  
 Bhikari Kambo, Hafiz, 60

Bhila'i Malik, 183  
 Bhilsa, 152  
 Bhogaon, 56  
 Bhojpur, 115  
 Bhopal Rai, 258  
 Bibi Khonza, 12-13  
 Bibi Masto, 67  
 Bihar, 36, 105, 111, 123, 125  
 Boli, 171  
 Budhan, Shattari Shaikh, (Introduction)

**C**hambal (river), 109  
 Champaran, 103, 178-79, 186  
 Chandausi, 255  
 Chanderi, 37, 45, 49, 88, 90, 118, 176, 179-80, 182, 184, 222, 226  
 Chandu Kokaltash, Mian, 97  
 Chandwar, 185  
 Chaund, 27-28, 132  
 Chittor, 116, 139, 198, 239  
 Chunar, 123, 125, 129, 134

**D**almau, 115  
*Darul Aman*, 34  
 Daryabad, 180  
 Darya Khan (son of Maruf Nuhani), 173  
 Darya Khan Nuhani, *Mashad-i 'ali*, 21-23, 32, 105, 107, 110-12, 131, 168  
 Daud Kambo (Shiqqdar), 181  
 Daulat Khan Lodi, 85, 110, 113, 185  
 Daulat Khan Nuhani, 91, 131  
 Daulat Khan (of Chanderi), 180  
 Daulat Khan Ujyala, 203-04  
 Delhi, *Hazrat, Dar ul-Khilafa*, 3, 11-12, 14, 25, 75, 79, 102, 126, 214, 248  
 Dhan Kosal, 166



Dhar (Malwa), 149  
 Dholpur, 178  
 Dildar Agacha, 224, 226  
 Dilawar Khan (son of Mian Bhua),  
 38 (f.n. 43), 87  
 Dilawar Khan Lodi, 110 (f.n. 85)  
 Dipalpur, 56

**E**tawah, 36 (f.n. 41) 179, 185

**F**aizullah Binbani, VII (f.n. 1)  
 Fazlullah Rasuldar, Saiyid, 66  
 Farid (Sur), Shaikh (later Sher  
 Shah Sur), 171  
 Farid Daryabandi, Shaikh, 180  
 Fath Khan Harevi, 7-8, 13  
 Fath Khan Sarwani, 47, 110, 112,  
 175, 176-79  
 Flrishta (historian), 1 (f.n. 1)  
 Firoz Khan (the ruler of Nagaur),  
 192, 218-19  
 Firoz Khan Lodi (uncle of Bahlul),  
 1, 185  
 Firoz Khan Lodi Sarang Khani,  
 111-12  
 Firoz Khan Sarwani, 91  
 Firoz Khan (son of Islam Shah  
 Sur), XXIV, 206  
 Firoz Shah, the Sultan of Delhi, 32  
 (f.n. 35), 231

**G**ada'i Farmull, 21, 87, 186  
 Gadai Kambo, Shaikh, 31, 210  
 Gambhir (river), 174  
 Gangese, 112-13, 115  
 Garhi, 134-35  
 Gaur, 126, 134-35, 137, 209,  
 Ghazipur, 50, 111, 115  
 Ghiyas U'ddin (Prince), 174

Ghiyas U'ddin (Sultan of Malwa),  
 212, 223, 235, 238  
 Ghuran, Shaikh, 16, 118-19, 262-  
 63  
 Gujarat, 123, 150  
 Guzar Kutch, 29  
 Guzar Urdu, 33  
 Gwalior, 108-09, 118, 138, 147

**H**abib Khan Sultani, 153-54  
 Haibat Khan Karrani, 104  
 Haibat Khan Niazi, entitled Azam  
 Humayun, 22, 138, 161, 201-  
 02  
 Haji Khan Sultani, 149-50  
 Hamid Khan, Wazir, 3-5  
 Hamid U'ddin Sufi, Shaikh, 61  
 Hamza Rasuldar, Saiyid, 281  
 Handya, 39  
 Hasan Ali Khurasani, 184  
 Hasan Khan Mewati, 116  
 Hasan, Shaikh, 30-31  
 Hasan, Sijzi, 205  
 Hasan Sur, Mian, 129, 131  
 Hauz-i Shamsi, 79  
 Hemu (Baqal), 127-28, 206, 209,  
 211  
 Hilal Ghauri, 284  
 Hindal Mirza, 126, 135  
 Hindaun, 222  
 Hindu Beg, Amir, 12, 124-25, 135  
 Hisar Firuza, 108  
 Hoshang Shah, 232-34  
 Humayun Mirza (later Emperor),  
 114-15, 117, ascends the throne,  
 121, 128, invades Bengal, 134,  
 defeated by Sher Shah, 144  
 Husain Farmul, *Masnad-i 'ali*, 11,  
 13-14, 168, 170-71, 174-78  
 Husain Khan Tashtdar, 137  
 Husain Nagauri Shaikh, 218-20  
 Husain Khan Panni, 146  
 Husain Khan Sarwani, 254-55



Husain Shah Sharqi, Sultan, 11,  
13-14, 27-29, 99, 101, 231  
Hussam Uddin Khalji, Malik, 223

**I**bn al-Rasul, Saiyid, 67, XVII  
(Introduction)

Ibrahim Lodi, Sultan, X (Introduction), 36 (f.n. 41), ascends the throne, 100-13, killed, 113, 151, 184-85

Ibrahim Khan Sarwani, 24, 172, 193, 255

Ibrahim Khan Sur, 206-07, revolts and assumes the royal title, 207-08

Ibrahim Sharqi, Sultan, 241-42

Ikhtiyar Khan Batini, 138

Ikhtiyar Khan Karrani, 104

Ikhtiyar Khan Togh, 22

Imad Farmuli, 88

Imad ul Mulk (Kambo), 141

*Imlak* (land-grants), 118

Indri, 83,

Isa Khan, Hajib, 151

Isa Khan Niazi, 138, 159, 207

Isa Khan Sur, *Masnad-i ali*, 203

Islam Khan Lodi, 1-3, XIV (Introduction)

Islam Khan Sarwani, 109, 130-31

Islam Shah Sur, XX (Introduction) 22, ascends the throne, 158-59, 165, deposes army against Khawwas Khan, 166, has Khawwas Khan killed, 167, 198, introduces new rules and regulations, 200-01, defeats the Niazis in the battle of Ambala, 202, builds forts in the north-western region, Sher Garh, Mankot, etc., 203, 252

Ismail Jilwani, 171

**J**ahangir Quli Beg, 134

Jajmau, 114-15

Jajjhar, 186

Jalal, *amir-i akhur*, 33-34

Jalal Khan Lodi, 87

Jalal Uddin Lodi (Prince), 108

Jalal Khan Sur, 134, 152

Jalesar, 186

Jalali, XXIV (Introduction), 114

*Jamadar* incharge of royal wardrobe), 44

Jamal Farmuli, 182-83

Jamali Kanbo, the poet, 31 (f.n. 33), 149

Jamal Khan Lodi Sarang Khan, 14, 93, 105, 129

Jamal Nagauri, 61

Jami, Abdul Rahman, 241

Jamuna (river), 41, 79

Jaunpur, 11-12, 25, 48, 58, 115, 119, 129, 247

Jodhpur, XIII (Introduction), 136, 139, 222, 248

Joga, Rai, 25-27

**K**abir Batini, Shaikh, XXVI (Introduction)

Kala Lodi, 185

Kalanaur, 127

Kalinjar, 157-58

Kalpi, 108 (f.n. 83), 185, 207

Kaliyada (village), 224

Kamal Khan Kambo, 111

Kamaon, XXIII (Introduction) 166, 168

Kanpur, 112

Kara, 21, 91, 179

Karam Ullah, entitled Iqbal Khan, 204

Katholi, 180

*Kaushak-i Firuz Shah*, 14

Khajwara (Khajurao), 139



**Khalifa Mir** 117  
**Khalil, Shaikh,** 123, 139  
**Khan Khanan Farmuli,** 99  
**Khan Khanan Nuhani,** 34, 87  
**Khandalangvani (sword),** 194  
**Khan Jahan Lodi,** 6, 185  
**Khan Jahan Lodi (former Mian Husain),** 26, 69-70, 72  
**Kharid,** 115-16  
**Khaqani, the poet,** 192  
**Khasa Khail,** 28  
**Khawwas Khan, the Wazir,** 81-83  
**Khawwas Khan, Masnad-i ali, XXIII (Introduction),** 138, 159, 168  
**Khizr Khan, the founder of the Saiyid, dynasty of Delhi, I (f.n. 1),** 2, 248  
**Khizr Khan Lodi,** 171, 176  
**Khudadad Khan Sur,** 201 (f. n. 2)  
**Khurasan,** 83  
**Khusrau, Amir, XVII (Introduction)**  
**Khwaja Jahan (Mahmud Gawan),** 241  
**Khwaja Khan Mewati,** 264-65  
**Kol,** 116  
**Kudi (Gomti river),** 26, 115  
**Kurukshetra, XI (Introduction),** 19

**Ladan, danishmand, Shaikh,** 47, 59, 67  
**Lad Khan Lodi Sarang Khani, Khan Azam,** 96-99  
**Lahore,** 85, 110, 117, 201, 252-53  
**Lakhnauti,** 124 (f. n. 104), 148 (f. n. 33), 137  
**Lalu Khan Niazi,** 130-31  
**Lodha Kakar,** 171, 176-77, 179  
**Lodiana,** 3  
**Lucknow,** 118 (f.n. 84) 148

**Machhiwara,** 209  
**Maghula Mangli Karrani,** 103, 105  
**Mahmud Khalji' Sultan Ala Uddin of Malwa,** 3  
**Mahmud Khalji II, Sultan of Malwa,** 239-40  
**Mahmud Khan Sur, Prince,** 201  
**Mahmud Khan Lodi (Shahu Khail),** 185  
**Mahmud Lodi, Sultan,** 116-17  
**Mahmud Shah, Sultan of the Deccan,** 240  
**Mahmud Sharqi, Sultan,** 6-8  
**Makkhan, Mian,** 169-70  
**Malcha,** 79  
**Maldev,** 156, 162, 169  
**Malik Turk, Malik,** 32-33  
**Malik-ul Hukama,** 266  
**Mallu Khan (Qadir Shah),** 147-50, 258  
**Mamun Mughal,** 77-78  
**Mandu,** 170, 212, 214, 232  
**Manikpur,** 21, 115, 141  
**Manjhola,** 141  
**Manjhu,** 226  
**Maruf Farmuli, Mian,** 10, 169-70, 198-99  
**Marwan, Malik (f.n. 1), XIV (Introduction)**  
**Masud Ghazi (Salar),** 19, VII (Introduction)  
**Mecca,** 64, 239, 242  
**Mewat,** 165, 189  
**Mubarak Khan Lodi,** 6, 8  
**Mubarak Khan Nuhani,** 21-22, 25, 29-30, XVI (Introduction)  
**Mubarak Khan Sarwani,** 149-50  
**Mubarak Khan Surwani,** 149-50  
**Mubarak Shah Saiyid), Sultan, (f.n. 1)**  
**Mubariz Khan (later Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah),** 204  
**Muhabat Farmuli, Mian,** 61, 194  
**Muhammad (son of Imad Farmuli),** 182-83



Muhammad, Shaikh, 55-56  
 Mubammad, Shaikh Bandagi, 123  
 Muhammad, Shaikh (Salah Uddin),  
 • 97  
 Muhammad Bakhtiyar, Shaikh,  
 155  
 Muhammad Khan Gauriya, 209,  
 211  
 Muhammad Farmuli, known as  
 Kalapahar, 99-03, 111, 186  
 193  
 Muhammad Magan, Shaikh, VIII  
 (Introduction)  
 Muhammad Shah, Sultan, 2, 236  
 Muhawan, 186  
*Muhtasib*, 17  
 Muin Uddin, Qazi, 277-79  
 Muiz Uddin, Malik, VIII (Intro-  
 duction)  
 Mujahid Khan Kala, 80  
 Multan, 1 (f.n. 1)  
 Musa, Malik VIII (Introduction)  
 Mushtaqi, Shaikh Rizqullah, 1  
 (f.n. 13)  
 Mustafa Farmuli, Main, 111-12  
 Muzaffari (coin), 37, 39  
 Muzaffar Shah, Sultan of Gujarat,  
 226-27, 239-40

**N**agarkot, 81  
 Nagaur, 139, 156, 164, 192, 231  
 Narbada (river), 7  
 Nalcha, 222  
 Narwar, 152  
 Nasir Khan Nuhani, 22, 51, 112,  
 115  
 Nasir Khan Miana, 149  
 Nasir Uddin Shah, Sultan, 223,  
 ascends the throne, 224-30  
 Nathu Kansi, Malik, 33  
 Nilgarh, 149  
 Nimat Ullah Harvi, 7 (f.n. 1)  
 Nimkhar, 264  
 Ni'mat Ullah *naib*, 101

Nizam Khan, Prince, 14, 19-22,  
 25, 30  
 Nizam Uddin Ahmad, 1 (f.n. 1),  
 VI (Introduction)  
 Nizam Sur, Mian, XXIV (Intro-  
 duction), 131  
 Nurul Haque, Shaikh, XI (Intro-  
 duction)  
 Nusrat Khan, VII (Introduction)

**O**jjhar, *danishmand*, 95  
 Orissa, 105-06

**P**anipat, 20, 111 (f.n. 89)  
 Pilakhna, 280  
 Prag 47  
 Prophet, the birthday celebra-  
 tion, 75, 91, 93  
 Pukhraj, 78, 86  
 Putli, Rani, 228-29

**Q**adan Danishmand, Mian, 7, 9  
 Qanauj, 25, 87, 186, 283  
 Qasim, Mian, 55  
 Qayam Khan Nagauri, 3  
 Qayam Khan Panni, 101  
 Qazi Khan, Bandagi, 122  
 Qutb Khan Lodi, 2-3, 5, 185  
 Qutb Khan (of Bengal), 133-34  
 Qutb Khan Sur (naib of Sher  
 Shah), 152-53, 201  
 Qutb Uddin Bakhtiyar Kaki,  
 Shaikh, 277  
 Qutb Khan Sharqi, 11, 57

**S**a'dullah, Shaikh, VIII (Introduc-  
 tion)



- Sadu Khan Sirbini, 89-90  
 Sahajan Tutuz, 177  
 Sahasram, XXV (Introduction), 129  
 Saif Khan Dalwali, 145  
 Said Khan Acha Khail 91-92  
 Said Farmuli, Khwajgi, 20-23, 186-88, 192  
 Said Khan Yusuf Khail (Lodi), 87-90, 110, 175-79  
 Said Khan Niazi, 201  
 Saif Khan Sur, 129  
 Saiyid Ahmad, Shaikh, 69  
 Saiyid Khan Miran, 27-28  
 Salahdi, Rai, 16, 177-80, 184  
 Salabuddin Suhrawardi, Shaikh, VIII (Introduction)  
 Salar Ghazi, VII (Introduction)  
 Sambhal, 55, 111, 118, 176  
 Samana, 1, 250  
 Samauddin Kanbo, Shaikh, 31, 67 (f.n. 61)  
 Sankhal (Rajput), 171, 178  
 Saran, 103, 178-79, 186  
 Sarangpur, 145-46, 202-03  
 Sarju (river), 99-100  
 Sarraf, (banker), 62-63  
 Sarwar, (Vilayet), 54  
 Satwas (Sewas), 149  
 Shah Husain, 116  
 Shah Jalal Uddin Shirazi, 64  
 Shahnama, 96, 192  
 Shahabad, 186  
 Shaikh Muhammad Salman Farmuli, 185  
 Shamsabad, 152, 186  
 Shamsheer Khan, 206  
 Shams Khan Niazi, 201  
 Shams Uddin, Mian, 56  
 Sharaf-ul Mulk, 180-81  
 Sherg Khan (the body-guard of Husain Farmuli), 183  
 Sher Khan Nuhani, 22  
 Sher Khan Sultani, 221-22  
 Sher Shah Sur, Emperor, XXI (Introduction), early career., 125, 131, defeats Muhammad Khan Sur of Chaund and wins the title of Sher Khan, 132, occupies Bihar and fights against Qutb Khan, the invader from Bengal, 133, kills the invader, 134, assumes the title of Sher Shah Alam, 135-36, installs *Karkhanas*, 136, introduces new regulations, 137-39, invades Malwas, 145, narrates the events of his early life to Mallu Khan, 147, conquers the fort of Raisin, and Jodhpur, 153-56, attacks Kalinjar and meets accidental death, 157-59, 161, 199  
 Shietla (small pox goddes), 9  
 Shiqqdar, 52  
 Shuja'at Khan Sur, 147-50, 202-03  
 Sikandar Khan Miana, 149  
 Sikandar Shah Lodi, Sultan, 16, conquers Bayana, 25, personality and achievements, 16-17, 29, 35, 47-48, 58, 60, 69, 174, 192  
 Sikandarabad, 102  
 Sikandar Zulqurnain, 56  
 Sikri, 116  
 Sirbind, 3, 126, 209  
 Siri fort, 281  
 Sulaiman Farmuli, Mian, 85-86, 170, 186  
 Sultan Junaid, 116  
 Suman, Malik, 12-14  
 Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah Sur, 206-11  
*Tabaqat-i Akbari*, VI (Introduction) (f.n. 1), 205 (f.n. 7)  
 Taha Farmuli, Mian, 171-72, 174, 176, 179-80, 192-98



Taha Chanderiwal, 276  
 Taj Khan Lodi Sarang Khani, 130  
 Taj Khan Karrani, 168 (f.n. 156),  
 205  
 Taj Mah Bahraichi, Saiyid, 263  
 Talim Khana (dance-hall), 104  
 Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi, VI (f.n. 1)  
 Tarikh-i Ibrahim Shahi, VI (Intro-  
 duction)  
 Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani, 7 (f.n. 1),  
 VI (Introduction)  
 Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi, (f.n. 1),  
 (f.n. 4).  
 Thanesar, 186  
 Tatar Khan Yusuf Khail, 20-24,  
 XVI (Introduction)  
 Tatar Khan Farmuli, 186  
 Tatar Khan Kansi, 207-08  
 Trimohni, 144  
 Tribut, 105, 134  
 Toda, 171  
 Todarmal (Mian Mahmud Far<sup>2</sup>  
 muli) 71, 188-89, 191-92  
 Transoxiana, VIII (Introduction),  
 83  
 Tughluq Mulla, 10

Udaipur, 49  
 Ujjain, 145-49, 224  
 Ulugh Khan Khalji, VII (Introdc-  
 tion)  
 Ulugh Mirza, 126, 135  
 Umar Khan Sarwani, Khan Azam,  
 XVI (Introduction), 21, 24  
 Umar Kambo, 59-60

Wajahdar, 32  
 Walid, Mian, 271-75  
 Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi, VI, VII, XI,  
 XXI, 217 (f.n. 2)

Yahya Sirhindi, 1 (f.n. 1), 6  
 (f.n. 4)

Zabar Uddin, Mian, 72-73, 79  
 Zafarabad, 48, 122  
 Zain Uddin Niazl, 201  
 Zain Uddin, Mian, 72, 74, 78.









# واقعاتِ مشرقی